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APPENDIX, 1778.

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LETTERS that paſſed between WILLIAM STRAHAN, Eſq; his Majeſty's Printer, and member for Malmſbury, — and Dr BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, now one of the Commiſſioners of the American Congreſs at the court of France.

[The Queries and Anſwers contained in theſe Letters, have been already [36 248] inſerted; but we had not then ſeen the introductions and concluſions; nor did we know that the Queriſt was our countryman: The ſubject is of the higheſt importance, and the Letters are full of uſeful information, on theſe accounts we hope to be excuſed for a ſmall repetition.]

To Dr FRANKLIN.

Dear Sir, Nov. 21. 1769.

IN the many converſations we have had together about our preſent diſputes with North America, we perfectly agreed in wiſhing they may be brought to a ſpeedy and happy concluſion. How this is to be done, is not ſo eaſily aſcertained.

Two objects, I humbly apprehend, his Majeſty's ſervants have now in contemplation: 1. To relieve the colonies from the taxes complained of, which they certainly had no hand in impoſing; 2. To preſerve the honour, the dignity, and the ſupremacy of the Britiſh legiſlature over all his Majeſty's dominions.

As I know your ſingular knowledge of the ſubject in queſtion, and am as fully convinced of your cordial attachment to his Majeſty, and your ſincere deſire to promote the happineſs equally of all his ſubjects, I beg you would, in your own clear, brief, and explicit manner, ſend me an anſwer to the following queſtions. I make this requeſt now, becauſe this matter is of the utmoſt importance, and muſt

very quickly be agitated: and I do it with the more freedom, as you know me and my motives too well to entertain the moſt remote ſuſpicion that I will make an improper uſe of any information you ſhall hereby convey to me.

[*Here ſeven queſtions are put;—for which we refer to the Anſwer, where they are repeated verbatim, excepting that the words,* If you anſwer in the negative, *ſubjoined to the firſt queſtion, and the words,* If that is your opinion, *ſubjoined to the third, are omitted, becauſe unneceſſary in the Anſwer.*]

The anſwers to theſe queſtions, I humbly conceive, will include all the information I want; and I beg you will favour me with them as ſoon as may be. Every well-wiſher to the peace and proſperity of the Britiſh empire, and every friend to our truly happy conſtitution, muſt be deſirous of ſeeing even the moſt trivial cauſes of diſſenſion among our fellow-ſubjects removed. Our domeſtic ſquabbles, in my mind, are nothing to what I am ſpeaking of. This you know much better than I do, and therefore I need add nothing farther to recommend this ſubject to your ſerious conſideration.

I am, &c. WILL. STRAHAN.

The ANSWER.

Dear Sir, Craven-ſtreet, Nov. 29. 1769.

BEing juſt returned to town from a little excurſion, I find yours of the 21ſt, containing a number of queries that would require a pamphlet to anſwer them fully. You, however, deſire only brief anſwers; which I ſhall endeavour to give.

Previous to your queries, you tell me, that "you apprehend his Majeſty's ſervants have now in contemplation, 1. To relieve the coloniſts from the taxes complained of; 2. To preſerve the honour, the dignity, and the ſupremacy of the Britiſh legiſlature over all his Majeſty's dominions." I hope your information is good, and that what you ſuppoſe to be in contemplation will be carried into execution, by repealing *all the laws* that have been made for raiſing a revenue in America by authority of parliament without the conſent of the people there. The *honour* and *dignity* of the Britiſh legiſlature will not be hurt by ſuch an act of juſtice and wiſdom. The wiſeſt councils are liable to be miſled, eſpecially in matters remote from their inſpection. It is the *perſiſting* in an error, not the *correcting* it, that leſſens the honour of any man or body of men. The *ſupremacy* of that legiſlature, I believe, will be beſt preſerved by making a very ſparing uſe of it; never but for the evident good of the colonies themſelves, or of the whole Britiſh empire; never for the partial advantage of Britain to their prejudice. By ſuch prudent conduct I imagine that ſupremacy may be gradually ſtrengthened, and in time fully eſtabliſhed: but, otherwiſe, I apprehend it will be diſputed, and loſt in the diſpute. At preſent the colonies conſent and ſubmit to it, for the regulations of general commerce; but a ſubmiſſion to acts of parliament was no part of their original conſtitution. Our former kings governed their colonies as they had governed their dominions in France, without the participation of Britiſh parliaments. The parliament of England never preſumed to interfere in that prerogative till the time of the great rebellion, when they uſurped the government of all the King's other dominions, Ireland, Scotland, &c. The colonies that held for the King, they conquered by force of arms, and governed afterwards as conquered countries: But New England having not oppoſed the parliament, was conſidered and treated as a ſiſter-kingdom, in amity with England; as appears by the Journals, March 10. 1642.

Query 1. "Will not a repeal of all the duties (that on tea excepted, which was before paid here on exportation, and of courſe no new impoſition) fully ſatisfy the coloniſts?"—— *Anſwer*, I think not.

2. "Your reaſons for that opinion?"

A. Becauſe it is not *the ſum* paid in that duty on tea that is complained of as a burthen, but the principle of the act, expreſſed in the preamble, viz. That thoſe duties were laid *for the better ſupport of government, and the adminiſtration of juſtice in the colonies.* This the coloniſts think unneceſſary, unjuſt, and dangerous to their moſt important right: *Unneceſſary*, becauſe in all the colonies (two or three new ones excepted) government and the adminiſtration of juſtice were, and always had been, well ſupported without any charge to Britain; *Unjuſt*, as it has made ſuch colonies liable to pay ſuch charge for others in which they had no concern or intereſt; *Dangerous*, as ſuch mode of raiſing money for thoſe purpoſes tended to render the aſſemblies uſeleſs; for if a revenue could be raiſed in the colonies for all the purpoſes of government by act of parliament, without grants from the people there, governors, who do not generally love aſſemblies, would never call them; they would be laid

laid aſide; and when nothing ſhould depend on the people's good-will to government, their rights would be trampled on; they would be treated with contempt. Another reaſon why I think they would not be ſatisfied with ſuch a partial repeal, is, that their agreements not to import till the repeal takes place, include the whole, which ſhews that they object to the whole; and thoſe agreements will continue binding on them if the whole is not repealed.

3. "Do you think the only effectual way of compoſing the preſent differences, is to put the Americans preciſely in the ſituation they were in before the paſſing of the late ſtamp-act?"

A. I think ſo.

4. "Your reaſons for that opinion?"

A. Other methods have been tried: They have been rebuked in angry letters; Their petitions have been refuſed or rejected by parliament; They have been threatened with the puniſhments of treaſon by reſolves of both houſes; Their aſſemblies have been diſſolved, and troops have been ſent among them: but all theſe ways have only exaſperated their minds, and widened the breach. Their agreements to uſe no more Britiſh manufactures have been ſtrengthened; and theſe meaſures, inſtead of compoſing differences, and promoting a good correſpondence, have almoſt annihilated your commerce with thoſe countries, and greatly endangered the national peace and general welfare.

5. "If this laſt method is deemed by the legiſlature and his Majeſty's miniſters to be repugnant to their duty as guardians of the juſt rights of the crown, and of their fellow-ſubjects, can you ſuggeſt any other way of terminating theſe diſputes, conſiſtent with the ideas of juſtice and propriety conceived by the King's ſubjects on both ſides the Atlantic?"

A. I do not ſee how that method can be deemed repugnant to the *rights of the crown*. If the Americans are put into their former ſituation, it muſt be by an act of parliament, in the paſſing of which by the King, the rights of the crown are exerciſed, not infringed. It is indifferent to the crown, whether the aids received from America are granted by parliament here, or by the aſſemblies there, provided the quantum be the ſame; and it is my opinion, that more will be generally granted there voluntarily, than can be exacted or collected from thence by authority of parliament. As to the rights of *fellow-ſubjects*, (I ſuppoſe you mean the people of Britain), I cannot conceive how thoſe will be infringed by that method. They will ſtill enjoy the right of granting *their own* money, and may ſtill, if it pleaſes them, keep up their *claim* to the *right* of granting *ours*; a right they can never exerciſe properly, for want of a ſufficient knowledge of us, our circumſtances and abilities, (to ſay nothing of the little likelihood there is that we ſhould ever ſubmit to it), therefore a right that can be of no good uſe to them; and we ſhall continue to enjoy *in fact* the right of granting *our* money, with the opinion now univerſally prevailing among us, that we are free ſubjects of the King, and that *fellow-ſubjects* of one part of his dominions are not *ſovereigns* over *fellow-ſubjects* in any other part. If the ſubjects on the different ſides of the Atlantic have different and oppoſite ideas of "juſtice and propriety," no one "method" can poſſibly be conſiſtent with both. The beſt will be, to let each enjoy their own opinions, without diſturbing them when they do not interfere with the common good.

6. "And if this method were actually followed, do you not think it would encourage the violent and factious part of the coloniſts to aim at ſtill farther conceſſions from the mother-country?"

A. I do not think it would. There may be a few among them that deſerve the name of factious and violent, as there are in all countries; but theſe would have little influence, if the great majority of ſober, reaſonable people were ſatisfied. If any colony ſhould happen to think that ſome of your regulations of trade are inconvenient to the general intereſt of the empire, or prejudicial to them without being beneficial to you, they would ſtate theſe matters to parliament in petitions, as heretofore; but would, I believe, take no violent ſteps to obtain what they might hope for in time from the wiſdom of government here. I know of nothing elſe they can have in view. The notion that prevails here, of their being deſirous to ſet up a kingdom or commonwealth of their own, is, to my certain knowledge, entirely groundleſs. I therefore think, that on *a total repeal of all duties laid expreſsly for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue on the people of America without their conſent*, the preſent uneaſineſs would ſubſide, the agreements not to import would be diſſolved, and the commerce flouriſh as heretofore; and I am confirm-

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ed in this ſentiment by all the letters I have received from America, and by the opinions of all the ſenſible people who have lately come from thence, crown-officers excepted. I know, indeed, that the people of Boſton are grievouſly offended by the quartering of troops among them, as they think, contrary to law; and are very angry with the board of commiſſioners, who have calumniated them to government: but as I ſuppoſe the withdrawing of thoſe troops may be a conſequence of reconciliating meaſures taking place, and that the commiſſion alſo will be either diſſolved, if found uſeleſs, or filled with more temperate and prudent men, if ſtill deemed uſeful and neceſſary, I do not imagine theſe particulars would prevent a return of the harmony ſo much to be wiſhed.

7. "If they are relieved in part only, what do you, as a reaſonable and diſpaſſionate man, and an equal friend to both ſides, imagine will be the probable conſequence?"

A. I imagine, that repealing the offenſive duties in part will anſwer no end to this country: the commerce will remain obſtructed, and the Americans go on with their ſchemes of frugality, induſtry, and manufactures, to their own great advantage. How much that may tend to the prejudice of Britain, I cannot ſay; perhaps not ſo much as ſome apprehend, ſince ſhe may in time find new markets. But I think, if the union of the two countries continues to ſubſiſt, it will not hurt the *general intereſt*; for whatever wealth Britain loſes by the failing of its trade with the colonies, America will gain; and the crown will receive equal aids from its ſubjects upon the whole, if not greater.

And now I have anſwered your queſtions as to what may be, in my opinion, the conſequences of this or that ſuppoſed meaſure. I will go a little farther, and tell you what I fear is more likely to come to paſs in reality. I apprehend, that the miniſtry, at leaſt the American part of it, being fully perſuaded of the right of parliament, think it ought to be enforced, whatever may be the conſequences; and at the ſame time do not believe, there is even now any abatement of the trade between the two countries on account of theſe diſputes; or that if there is, it is ſmall, and cannot long continue. They are aſſured by the crown-officers in America, that manufactures are impoſſible there; that the diſcontented are few, and perſons of little conſequence; that almoſt all the people of property and importance are ſatisfied, and diſpoſed to ſubmit quietly to the taxing power of parliament; and that if the revenue-acts are continued, and thoſe duties only that are called anticommercial be repealed, and others perhaps laid in their ſtead, that power ere long will be patiently ſubmitted to, and the agreements not to import be broken, when they are found to produce no change of meaſures here. From theſe and ſimilar miſinformations, which ſeem to be credited, I think it likely that no thorough redreſs of grievances will be afforded to America this ſeſſion. This may inflame matters ſtill more in that country; farther raſh meaſures *there*, may create more reſentment *here*, that may produce not merely ill-adviſed diſſolutions of their aſſemblies as laſt year [31. 94.], but attempts to diſſolve their conſtitution; more troops may be ſent over, which will create more uneaſineſs; to juſtify the meaſures of government, your writers will revile the Americans in your news-papers, as they have already begun to do, treating them as miſcreants, rogues, daſtards, rebels, &c. to alienate the minds of the people here from them, and which will tend farther to diminiſh their affections to this country. Poſſibly, too, ſome of their warm patriots may be diſtracted enough to expoſe themſelves by ſome mad action to be ſent for hither, and government here be indiſcreet enough to hang them on the act of Henry VIII. Mutual provocations will thus go on to complete the ſeparation; and inſtead of that cordial affection that once and ſo long exiſted, and that harmony ſo ſuitable to the circumſtances, and ſo neceſſary to the happineſs, ſtrength, ſafety, and welfare, of both countries; an implacable malice, mutual hatred, ſuch as we now ſee ſubſiſting between the Spaniards and Portugueſe, the Genoeſe and Corſicans, from the ſame original miſconduct in the ſuperior governments, will take place; the ſameneſs of nation, the ſimilarity of religion, manners, and language, not in the leaſt preventing it in our caſe, more than it did in theirs.—I hope, however, that this may all prove falſe propheecy, and that you and I may live to ſee as ſincere and perfect a friendſhip eſtabliſhed between our reſpective countries, as has ſo many years ſubſiſted between Mr Strahan and his truly affectionate old friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

PAR-

PARLIAMENT, Seſſ. 1777-8. [653].

On the 16th of February, the Earl of Thanet roſe, and, prevented from being heard by a hoarſeneſs, only ſaid, that he held a letter in his hand from Maj.-Gen. Gates, relative to the ſentiments of the people of America, which he deſired might be read.

Lord Townſhend roſe; and after declaring, that Gen. Gates had exalted his character exceedingly by his humane conduct [39.664.] reſpecting Gen. Burgoyne, obſerved, that however high he might ſtand in their Lordſhips opinion, he ſurely was a very unfit perſon for that Houſe to enter into a correſpondence with; that he was at the time of his writing the letter, at the head of a rebel army; that it would be a degradation of parliament to make ſuch a letter the ground of a reſolution; he therefore hoped the Houſe would not ſuffer it to be read.

Earl Gower ſaid, that for what their Lordſhips knew, the letter in queſtion might be of a nature exceedingly improper for their Lordſhips to hear; at any rate it was contrary to parliamentary form for the clerk to read it at the table.

The Duke of Richmond ſaid, that the letter came from a man of great weight in America, and that it was ridiculous to refuſe information, let it preſent itſelf in what ſhape it might.

The Duke of Grafton ſaid, that as he ſat near the Noble Earl who introduced the letter, he perhaps heard what the Noble Earl had ſaid more diſtinctly than any other of their Lordſhips; that the Noble Earl had merely begged the letter might be read by ſome other perſon, becauſe he had a cold and hoarſeneſs, which he feared might prevent the Houſe from hearing him.

After a few more trifling arguments reſpecting the forms of the Houſe, the Marquis of Rockingham took the letter, and read it to their Lordſhips, viz.

"My Lord, Albany, Oct. 26. 1777.

Preſuming upon our former friendſhip, I take the liberty of addreſſing this letter to your Lordſhip, Gen. Burgoyne having aſſured me it ſhall be faithfully delivered. The very important event of this campaign, ſo far as it reſpects Gen. Burgoyne and myſelf, will, by the unexaggerating voice of Truth, be related to your Lordſhip. For what leſs can be ſaid of it, than that the King's army which left Canada in June, are all killed, taken, or have ſurrendered priſoners, under the convention of Saratoga? How this complete victory has been uſed, with reſpect to the behaviour of the conquerors to the vanquiſhed, Gen. Burgoyne and Ld Peterſham, as they are ſoldiers, and men of honour, will declare.—But to the main deſign of my addreſſing this letter to your Lordſhip:

Born and educated in England, I cannot help feeling for the misfortunes brought upon my native country by the wickedneſs of that adminiſtration, who began, and have continued, this moſt unjuſt, impolitic, cruel, and unnatural war. The diſmemberment of the empire, the loſs of commerce, of power and conſequence amongſt the nations, with the downfall of public credit, are but the beginning of thoſe evils that muſt inevitably be followed by a thouſand more, unleſs timely prevented by ſome lenient hand, ſome great ſtate-phyſician, with the firmneſs, integrity, and abilities, of a Chatham, joined to the wiſdom, virtue, and juſtice, of a Camden, aided and ſupported by ſuch men as your Lordſhip; men as independent in their fortunes as unſullied in their honour, and who never bowed their heads to Baal. Such a man, ſo ſupported, may yet ſave the ſinking ſtate, by confirming that independency, which the people of this continent are reſolved not to part with but when they leave this world. Such a man will do what all wiſe ſtateſmen have done before him. He will be true to the welfare and intereſt of his country; and, by retcinding the reſolutions paſſed to ſupport that ſyſtem which no power on earth can eſtabliſh, he will endeavour to preſerve ſo much of the empire, in proſperity and honour, as the circumſtances of the times, and the maleadminiſtration of thoſe who ruled before him, have left to his government.

The United States of America are willing to be the friends, but never will ſubmit to be the ſlaves of the parent-country. They are, by conſanguinity, by commerce, by language, and by the affection which naturally ſprings from theſe, more attached to England than any other country under the ſun. Therefore ſpurn not the bleſſing which yet remains. Inſtantly withdraw your fleets and armies; cultivate the friendſhip and commerce of America. Thus, and thus only, can England hope to be great and

happy. Seek that in a commercial alliance, ſeek it ere it be too late, for there only you muſt expect to find it.

Theſe, my Lord, are the undiſguiſed ſentiments of a man that rejoices not in the blood ſhed in this fatal conteſt; of a man who glories in the name of an Engliſhman, and wiſhes to ſee peace and friendſhip between G. Britain and America fixed upon the firmeſt foundation.

Our friend Gen. Lee has ſuffered a long and ſevere impriſonment; but the hour is at hand that forces Gen. Howe to what he muſt for ever bluſh for not having done before. The pride, not the power, of the King's generals prevents me from being more particular as to the immediate ſituation of the man [Gen. Lee] you ſo much regarded.

I beg your Lordſhip will preſent my affectionate compliments to Hall, and Sir Charles Davers.

With the greateſt reſpect, I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordſhip's moſt obedient humble ſervant,

HORATIO GATES.

To the Rt Hon. the Earl of Thanet."

The Duke of Richmond moved, "That Gen. Gates's letter ſhould lie upon the table."

Earl of Suffolk ſaid, he was againſt the motion. The letter was from one private gentleman to another; the writer was not either an ambaſſador or plenipotentiary; he had no public commiſſion to offer terms of peace; on the contrary, he was an officer at the head of a rebel army, and at this moment in arms againſt his ſovereign. Did the letter ſay, that the Congreſs entertained ſimilar ſentiments with the writer of it? did it convey any thing like a baſis to commence and erect a treaty on? The very terms vaguely mentioned in it were ſuch as their Lordſhips had repeatedly reprobated. The letter contained an inſinuation, that America was determined to preſerve her independency. Ought the King's ſervants to accede to that poſition? Ought they to withdraw the army and the fleet, and to throw the nation at the feet of America? Another part of the letter deſerved rather the contempt than the attention of the Houſe. It was made up of invective againſt the preſent adminiſtration; invective which, notwithſtanding the good ſtyle of the letter, had been much more forcibly and elegantly expreſſed by Noble Lords in that Houſe, and which would doubtleſs be repeated as long as the Noble Lords ſhould continue out of place. The Earl paid Lord Rockingham great compliments on his candour, for having read, with ſo much diſtinctneſs and firmneſs of voice, that part of the letter which ſpoke ſo highly of Lord Chatham.

Marquis of Rockingham declared, the Noble Earl had imputed that to his candour, which he did not feel, or think aſcribable to any ſuch motive. He ſaid he read the letter becauſe he was anxious to give the Houſe information, which the King's ſervants, on every occaſion, wilfully withheld; and that he was deſirous of attending to Gen. Gates's propoſitions, becauſe he was determined to ſerve his country, by making peace at any rate.

Lord Weymouth ſaid, it was improper to order the letter to be laid upon the table.

Duke of Richmond ſaid, Gen. Gates, from his ſituation, was of great weight and importance in the eyes of America; that the only means of getting at the ſenſe of a country, was by hearing the ſentiments of men of weight and importance in that country; that to negative the motion, was to purſue the old ruinous plan of ſhutting the ear to information, and continuing wilfully in error; and that Gen. Gates's letter contained information reſpecting America, as well worthy the attention of the miniſters, as the information which they had received from Gov. Bernard, Gov. Hutchinſon, and Gov. —— he did not know who! He could indeed ſee one reaſon for the King's ſervants refuſing to ſuffer the letter to remain on the table; and that was, the invective againſt adminiſtration which it contained, and which the Noble Earl had complained of. This invective was too true; and however the miniſters might now treat it with contempt, a day would come when they muſt acknowledge its truth. The Duke diſclaimed any ſiniſter motive for his conduct, and declared, that America would never make peace with the preſent adminiſtration. And, in reply to the ſneer, That thoſe who oppoſed the meaſures of adminiſtration wanted their places, it was eaſy to retort, That thoſe in office would adopt any meaſure, however injurious to their country, rather than give up their employments.

The Lord Chancellor came forward, and aſked their Lordſhips if it could poſ-

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ſibly be deemed right, to accept a letter which held out ſuch terms as were not only exceedingly improper, but groſsly inſulting? What, acknowledge the independency of America, and withdraw our army and our fleet! confeſs the ſuperiority of America, and wait her mercy! He deſired the Houſe to conſult their own feelings for an anſwer.

The Duke of Manchester contended for the motion. And ſaid, that he wiſhed his Noble friends to acknowledge that power was one of their objects; and as he was convinced, if they had power, they would exert their abilities to ſave their country, he declared he moſt earneſtly hoped they would acquire it. For his part, he diſclaimed every idea of preferment; he had been all his life connected with ſo many of the firſt families in the kingdom, that had he thought it worth while to ſolicit court-favour, he certainly might have obtained it; he truſted, however, that no man ſuppoſed him influenced by ſo baſe, ſo mean a motive. The Duke declared, there certainly had been a ſeaſon for making an honourable and happy peace with America; that ſeaſon he feared was now paſt. His Grace mentioned the loſs of the United Provinces by Spain, after forty years war; and ended his ſpeech with expreſſing his hopes, that our unhappy quarrel with America was not to be equally prolonged, or to end ſo fatally to this country.

The Earl of Briſtol ſpoke next. —— "From the firſt dawn of this unhappy rebellion, (ſaid his Lordſhip), when I had a ſeat in the other Houſe, I took an early part in declaring my ſentiments againſt the meaſures, which I then thought, and I ſtill think, rather encouraged than removed the inclinations there appeared in ſome of the refractory leaders in that country, to diſpute the rights, and, by degrees, throw off that ſubjection, which, from every tie in human nature, they owe to this: however, when I found that meaſure was adopted, (I mean the repeal of the ſtamp-act), and that it had produced the effects that were foretold it would do, I then, my Lords, took a part with thoſe, who, like me, (from the different accounts given of the ſituation of the colonies, their diſſenſions and their contentions), thought it was only coercive meaſures that could bring them to a ſenſe of their duty and their intereſt; but, like others, had only the privilege of giving my opinion, whilſt every ſtep that was taken by thoſe in as well as thoſe out of power, ſeemed to promote what we ought all to have united in order to have ſtifled in its infancy; the encouragement the colonies met with, from what I muſt think the miſtaken judgement, and conſequently ill-timed language, of one ſet of gentlemen on this ſide the Atlantic, and from the more ſupine, timid conduct of thoſe who have ever ſince been at the head of the meaſures of this country, brought the colonies firſt to thoſe daring ſteps of rebellious union, and next to the no leſs daring, but more fatal, acts of open violence againſt their ſovereign and their mother-country."

His Lordſhip condemned the method in which we had ſent our recruits, cloathing, ammunition, ſtores, ſupplies of every kind, to our forces abroad, by which, he obſerved, a great part of them were carried to our foes; alledging, that if theſe articles had been ſent in fourth rates, they would have been preſerved to ourſelves, and kept from our enemies, and alſo a great expence in the hire of tranſports ſaved.

"Can your Lordſhips, (ſaid the Noble Earl afterwards), without ſome degree of emotion, recollect the glorious figure this nation made in the year 1761; when by the wiſe counſels, intrepid conduct, and judicious choice of admirals and generals, and that great ſtateſman, then at the head of his Majeſty's councils, and whoſe abſence this day here I very much lament, the arms of G. Britain were carried triumphantly over the whole globe, and its flag revered wherever it was diſplayed? And now, my Lords, what is the dreadful contraſt? G. Britain drained almoſt to the laſt guinea and the laſt man, and that very flag, once the terror, now the contempt of all Europe. Do your Lordſhips not feel indignation at this change? or do you require proofs of theſe aſſertions? My Lords, you cannot; they are too recent, too publicly known, and I fear too generally publiſhed all over Europe, to require any here.

This once great nation, being brought ſo rapidly from the glorious elevation it was raiſed to, to the very brink of deſtruction now, is it wiſe, is it prudent, my Lords, to imagine, that the ſame identical counſels and meaſures, if purſued, can extricate us? No, my Lord,

abſurd is the thought, and vain would be ſuch a wiſh: for my own part, my Lords, I have great reſpect for, and a great opinion of the abilities and integrity of many of the Noble Lords in adminiſtration; and I have the ſame for many of thoſe who are out of it; and I am ſure the Noble Duke near me deſerves every one's thanks, for the pains his Grace has taken in this enquiry, and with ſuch knowledge and ſuch candour as he has laid it before us: but I have no connections at preſent with either ſet: I have not the honour of being conſidered as of any party; my whole and ſole devotion is for the honour and intereſt of my king and country, and to thoſe who will moſt effectually promote that deſirable end, and recover and ſupport the ſupremacy of this country over her colonies. I have not a wiſh for myſelf, or any ambitious or intereſted object to gratify, having long ſince determined neither to ſolicit, or, if offered, to accept of any place or emolument whatſoever, out of my military line; and thereby convince my ſovereign and my country, (if it be poſſible, in theſe days of general corruption), that I am no wiſe intereſted in the change of men or meaſures, but as it tends to the proſperity of the whole. But give me leave, my Lords, to add, that in ſuch times as theſe, when the great ſums granted to the crown (great as they are) are inſufficient to ſupport the ſtill greater expences of the crown, I ſhould be happy to join any ſet of gentlemen, in ſerving in any capacity that I could be thought capable of, without ſalary, emolument, or reward, of any kind whatſoever. My Lords, believe me, it is only ſuch determinations as theſe with the people of great rank and property, that will regain the confidence of our fellow-ſubjects, eaſe his Majeſty's expences, and conſequently lighten the burthen of this people."

The Earl of Sandwich anſwered what was ſaid relating to the navy, and particularly relating to the hiring of tranſports; adding, that Gen. Gates diſplayed his ignorance of the ſentiments of thoſe very men whom he had recommended as proper perſons to ſucceed the preſent miniſters; for that the Earl of Chatham had diſclaimed the idea of American independence.

The queſtion having been put upon the motion, it was negatived without a diviſion.

On Tueſday, April 7. the Lords being in a committee of inquiry, the Duke of Richmond, purſuant to notice given by his Grace on the Tueſday preceding, took a general view of the various important facts which had appeared in the proceedings of that committee; ſtating in detail the reſult of the different inquiries which had been made, by himſelf, the Duke of Bolton, and the Earl of Effingham, into the ſtrength and ſituation of our forces by ſea and land, the finances, credit, trade, and reſources of the kingdom, the ſucceſſive meaſures of adminiſtration in the conduct of the civil war in America, and the various conſequences that attended them. Upon the information thus acquired by the committee, whoſe progreſs had been marked with the greateſt temper and prudence, his Grace propoſed,

"That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to inform his Majeſty, that in the ſerious ſituation in which we found public affairs at the opening of this ſeſſion of parliament, this Houſe thought it an indiſpenſable duty to take into conſideration the ſtate of the nation:

That we have examined in a committee of the whole Houſe, a great number of returns, accounts, and papers, reſpecting the forces both by land and ſea, which have been employed in North America during the three years reſpectively that the preſent civil war has continued:

That we have alſo enquired into the number of lives which have been loſt in this unhappy conteſt:

That we have conſidered the advantages which have been gained, and the diſadvantages which have been ſuffered by his Majeſty's armies, and thoſe of his allies; the progreſs which has been made, and what yet remains to be done, towards reducing by force of arms the thirteen revolted provinces in North America:

That we have further conſidered the preſent ſtate of his Majeſty's forces in that part of the world; how far they are deficient from what they were in the courſe of the laſt campaign; and how it may be poſſible to render them adequate to the reduction of the colonies by force of arms:

That we have informed ourſelves of the number of old corps, and of their ſtrength, which are left in G. Britain, Ireland, Gibraltar, Minorca, and the

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Weſt Indies, for the ſecurity of theſe ſeveral parts of the empire:

That we have alſo weighed the reſources which may be expected from the new levies his Majeſty has thought proper to direct; how far it may be ſafe to ſpare any more of the old corps, or how far the new levies, as yet only raiſing, can be a recruit for the army in North America:

That we have given much attention to the ſtate of the navy, at all times the great bulwark of defence for theſe kingdoms, but particularly ſo while ſo great a part of our land-forces, and thoſe of our allies, are on the other ſide of the Atlantic:

That we have examined reſpectable merchants upon oath, as to the loſſes ſuſtained by the people of G. Britain from captures made by the Americans, and touching the effects which the preſent war has upon the commerce of this kingdom:

That we have conſidered the expences already incurred, and thoſe which neceſſarily attend the further proſecution of this war:

To aſſure his Majeſty, that in the inveſtigation of theſe various, great, and extenſive objects, we have ſpared no pains to obtain juſt and true information; that our inquiries have been conducted with that temper and fairneſs which is moſt likely to obtain truth, to produce wiſe counſel, and to give weight to our opinions:

That as it is our peculiar province to watch over the conduct of his Majeſty's miniſters, and to lay before his Majeſty ſuch ſalutary opinions as the exigency of affairs may require, we are neceſſitated to offer his Majeſty the following dutiful repreſentation reſulting from facts, as they have appeared to us in this great enquiry:

That according to the returns laid before this Houſe, the effective numbers of his Majeſty's land-forces in North America in 1774, conſiſted of 6884 men; in 1775, of 11,219 men; in 1776, of 45,865 men; in 1777, of 48,616 men:

That theſe forces had the aſſiſtance of a very great and well-appointed train of artillery:

That in the courſe of the ſaid years there were employed no leſs than eighty-three men of war and armed veſſels, whoſe complement of men amounted to 22,337:

That no grants were ſpared by parliament to enable his Majeſty's miniſters to render theſe armaments as complete and effectual as poſſible; and certainly this country never ſent out a greater or more reſpectable force:

But great and reſpectable as it was, yet after three years trial, and various ſucceſſes, (among which have been victories obtained by his Majeſty's troops over the chief American army), the acquiſitions we have made conſiſt only in two open towns, difficult to be maintained, and a few iſlands on the coaſt, while all the continental parts of Rhode iſland, New York, Pennſylvania, and the whole provinces of New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſet's-bay, Connecticut, the three counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, ſtill remain to be ſubdued:

That there have been ſent from G. Britain upwards of 60,000 land-forces, and 20,000 ſeamen:

That the loſs of men by death, deſertion, or otherwiſe, in North America, according to the laſt returns laid before this Houſe, had in the land-forces amounted to 19,381, beſides 5336 priſoners; and that there were at that time 4639 ſick:

That the loſs in the navy appeared to have been 4314 men; ſo that there had been already loſt to this country, at the time when thoſe returns were ſent to England, no leſs than 29,031 men, excluſive of the ſick:

That it appeared that the remains of the army, divided in Philadelphia, New York, Rhode iſland, and Canada, conſiſted all together of no more than 36,731 men, fit for duty, officers included:

That to recruit this army to what it was laſt year, will require a reinforcement of at leaſt 11,885 regular old troops:

That the numbers in old corps in G. Britain, Ireland, Gibraltar, and Minorca, together with the new levies which are raiſing, appear to us, on a full examination of all the various ſervices, to be ſuch as not to render it in any degree prudent or ſafe to remove any part of the ſaid troops to America, at a time when ſo great a part of our land and ſea force is already in that remote part of the world, at too great a diſtance to aſſiſt this country in caſe of a ſudden emergency:

That it appeared that the navy in North America would alſo want a very great reinforcement of ſhips and men:

That

That from this view of things we are led to conclude, that if the whole force in North America (which for theſe laſt two years has been ſo greatly ſuperior to what there ſeems to be any poſſibility of making it in the courſe of this year) has made ſo little impreſſion towards the reduction of the provinces by arms, at a time when they were very deficient in military preparations of all ſorts, had neither money, arms, ammunition, magazines, cloathing, diſcipline, or go-government; when the aſſiſtance they might receive from foreign nations was far leſs than it has been ſince, and is likely to be in future by the avowed part which France has taken; it is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe that they may now be reduced, by a force which we cannot make even equal to that which has failed under circumſtances in every reſpect more favourable:

That with regard to our naval ſtrength in Europe, it appears, that, far from being in that reſpectable condition which it has often been officially repreſented by the Firſt Lord of the Admirality in the courſe of this ſeſſion, that eſſential part of our ſtrength is no wiſe anſwerable to the vaſt ſums expended on it, or to the various and extenſive ſervices which it may be called very ſhortly to fulfil:

That the value of the captures made by the Americans on the merchants of Great Britain, amounts to upwards of 2,600,000 l:

That the African trade is almoſt annihilated, having ſuffered a diminution of no leſs than 1,400,000 l. per annum:

That the Weſt-India iſlands are much diſtreſſed, and that the great increaſed price of many eſſential articles of trade, and particularly of naval ſtores and inſurance, are ſuch a burthen on the commerce of this kingdom as muſt greatly affect its proſperity:

That the expences on account of this war, over and above the ordinary high expence of a peace-eſtabliſhment, as it has been voted of late years, would, with the extraordinary charges not yet provided for, amount to near twenty-four millions, if peace was inſtantly concluded; but if the American war alone is continued only for one campaign more, the additional expence will probably amount to nine millions, making in all thirty-three millions expended in this conteſt. Such an increaſe of debt, the intereſt of which is equal to the nett produce of the land-tax at three ſhillings in the pound, added to our former burthens, will, we fear, with our diminiſhed trade, be difficult for this country to ſupport with national faith:

That we have made ſome enquiry into the manner in which certain parts of this enormous expenditure have been conducted; and we are ſorry to find, that the mode of contracting and engaging for the tranſports and ſupplies of the army has been unuſual and prodigal, and ſuch as affords ground for ſuſpicion of corrupt management:

That the ſtate of public credit is truly alarming. The ſmall decreaſe of the national debt, amounting ſcarcely to ten millions in the courſe of fifteen years of peace, bears no proportion to the vaſt increaſe in times of war. It requires no calculations to prove, that a debt continually augmenting, muſt end in a manner we are unwilling to think on. The national debt has increaſed an hundred million in the memory of many of us. The natural period, and inevitable conſequence of this ſyſtem, appears to be at hand. As one principal foundation of credit is a confidence in government, we have much to apprehend under miniſters who have juſtly forfeited the good opinion of the nation. The want of confidence, complicated with effects of this enormous, and enormouſly growing debt, appears from the low ſtate of the public funds; and from the diſcredit of the new loan, which ſells conſiderably under par, although the terms given this year for ſix millions, are higher than thoſe which were given for twelve millions in 1761, in the ſeventh year of a war with the Houſe of Bourbon, and although we have hitherto had no foreign war whatſoever:

That from this melancholy ſtate of facts, we ſee it impoſſible to carry on the preſent ſyſtem of reducing America by force of arms:

That we conceive this impoſſibility not to have ariſen from the accidents of this war, but to reſult from the very courſe of nature; to be the neceſſary conſequence of an attempt to reduce to ſervitude a numerous people, united in the defence of their liberties, in a diſtant, extenſive, and ſtrong country:

That we conceive that his Majeſty, and the parliament, could not have been induced to proſecute ſo fatal a war, but from the miſled information they received

ved of the diſpoſition of the people in America, of their diſunion, and of the poſſibility of reducing them, by force of arms, to unconditional ſubmiſſion, and to the acknowledgement of the ſupreme authority of parliament, before a complaint even of juſt grievances ſhould be liſtened to:

That it was the peculiar duty of his Majeſty's miniſters, to procure correct information on matters of ſuch high importance, and to have laid the whole of ſuch information before his Majeſty, and before parliament, previous to their propoſing ſuch ſteps as have led us into our preſent calamitous ſituation:

That we cannot but lament, that when propoſitions of a ſimilar nature to thoſe lately propoſed and enacted, were three years ago repeatedly offered to parliament in both Houſes, his Majeſty's miniſters, the very men who now have adviſed greater conceſſions, did, upon deluſive arguments, and falſe repreſentations, prevail on parliament to reject thoſe propoſitions, at a time when they would probably have been ſucceſsful, and might have prevented the prodigal, and, we fear, fruitleſs waſte of ſo much treaſure, and the ſtill more to be lamented effuſion of ſo much blood:

That under theſe circumſtances, we can give his Majeſty no other advice, than inſtantly to withdraw his fleets and armies from the thirteen revolted provinces, where they are decaying and waſting, where they ſubſiſt with difficulty, coſt immenſe ſums of money, can anſwer no good purpoſe, particularly at this time, when they are much wanted for our ſecurity at home; to effectuate conciliation with the colonies, on ſuch terms as may preſerve their good-will, on the preſervation of which the future greatneſs of this nation may in a great meaſure depend:

That the armaments long ſince preparing in the ports of France and Spain, and the late declaration of the French ambaſſador, although natural, are melancholy conſequences of the meaſures which have been purſued, and make it indiſpenſably neceſſary to view our ſituation in a new light: That we are no longer to conſider ourſelves as contending ſolely for dominion over others; we are to look to our own ſafety; we are to reſcue, if poſſible, what remains of this empire from the further effects of thoſe meaſures by which it has been reduced to its actual limits. And as we apprehend, that the preſent calamities have ariſen in a great degree from the degeneracy of the times, and a departure from the true principles and ſpirit of our conſtitution, it would be highly expedient to endeavour at ſome ſober well-digeſted plan of public reformation, in order to reſtore the ancient morals, and revive the original character of this nation:

That we think it our duty, on offering to his Majeſty this unhappy, but true repreſentation of the ſtate of his dominions, to expreſs our indignation at the conduct of his Majeſty's miniſters, who have cauſed it; who, by abuſing his confidence, have tarniſhed the luſtre of his crown; who, by their unfortunate counſels, have diſmembered his empire, waſted the public treaſures, ſunk the public credit, impaired the commerce of his kingdoms, diſgraced his Majeſty's arms, and weakened his naval power, the pride and bulwark of this nation; whilſt by delaying to reconcile the difference which they had excited amongſt his people, they have ſuffered ſuch an alliance to take place, between the former ſubjects and the ancient rivals of G. Britain, and have neither taken meaſures to prevent, nor formed alliances to counteract ſo fatal an union:

That in this calamitous, although they they truſt not deſperate ſituation of public affairs, this Houſe repoſes its ultimate hope in his Majeſty's paternal goodneſs: That we have no doubt, that he will look back to the principles both political and conſtitutional, which gave riſe to the revolution, from whence we have derived the happineſs of being governed by princes of his illuſtrious Houſe: That he will reflect on the examples of his predeceſſors from that auſpicious period, during which the proſperity, the opulence, the power, the territory, and the renown of his throne and nation have flouriſhed and increaſed beyond all example: That he will particularly call to mind the circumſtances of his acceſſion to the crown, when he took poſſeſſion of an inheritance ſo full of glory, and of the truſt of preſerving it in all its luſtre: That, deeply affected with theſe conſiderations, he will be graciouſly pleaſed to put an end to a ſyſtem, too well underſtood in its nature, and too ſorely felt in its effects, which by the arts of wicked men has prevailed in his court

and

and adminiſtration, and which, if ſuffered to continue, will complete the miſeries which have begun; and leave nothing in this country which can do honour to his government, or make the name of an Engliſhman a matter of that pride and diſtinction, in which his Majeſty and his ſubjects had ſo much reaſon to glory in former happy times."

Lord Weymouth replied, that he ſhould oppoſe the motion upon two principles, applying to the two objects of the prayer of the addreſs propoſed by the Noble Duke: firſt, the removal of his Majeſty's miniſters; and next, the withdrawing the forces from America. Though a miniſter himſelf, he declared his motives were not perſonal; and for this he appealed to thoſe who knew his diſpoſition and ſentiments on that point: but he thought it unjuſt to condemn miniſters without a fair hearing; and, forward as they might be in their private reſpects to meet the keeneſt inquiry, yet the delicate circumſtances of the ſtate made it impoſſible for them, at the preſent criſis, to offer the proofs which could be adduced in their juſtification, without the danger of injuring the public cauſe; ſo intimate was the relation of one with the other. It was therefore by no means a fair deduction of the Noble Duke, That not to controvert aſſertions was to admit them; and, confident that many of the propoſitions in the addreſs moved for were not true facts, he could not conſent to their being ſtated to the King with the authority of parliament.—With reſpect to the other part of the prayer, "to call home our forces," he conſidered it as very bad policy in the moment when a foreign war was ſo ſtrongly apprehended, to let our enemies know officially, how, and where, and for what purpoſes, we were to diſpoſe of our forces; and though, by calling home the forces now in America, we did not actually announce where they were to be employed, yet it was letting them know where they were not to be employed; and even that was by no means prudent; for the policy of all nations and governments left ſuch cares to the diſcretion of the executive power, to whoſe province it was committed by reaſon as well as the conſtitution of this country.

The Earl of Chatham.—My Lords, The times are alarming,—the State is indeed in danger! and nothing but the poor condition of my health could ſo long have prevented me from attending my duty in parliament at this very important period. But advice is now ſo neceſſary, that, although ſorely preſſed with the hand of infirmity, I have made an effort, almoſt beyond my conſtitution, to come down to the Houſe to give my beſt advice to your Lordſhips, and to expreſs my indignation at the puſillanimous, the diſgraceful idea of giving up the dependence of America on the ſovereignty of Britain.—Feeble as I am, I rejoice that I am yet alive,—that the grave has not altogether cloſed on me,—before I had an opportunity of giving my vote againſt ſo impolitic, ſo inglorious a meaſure, as the acknowledgement of the independency of America.

That our public affairs have, for ſome years bypaſt, been ſhamefully managed, I have frequently endeavoured to ſatisfy your Lordſhips: And although I condemned the meaſures which have for ſome time been adopted by the majority of this Houſe, yet I always was againſt the independency of America; and never would ſupport meaſures carried on in unrecanted error; but, after a full recantation of theſe erroneous meaſures, and after a repeal of all the oppreſſive acts, it is the duty of every lover of his country, of every good citizen, to take care, while, on the one hand, he preſerves the rights and privileges of the Colonies, he does not, on the other, tarniſh the luſtre of his Royal Maſter's Crown, nor ſink the glory of the Britiſh nation.—The tendency and plain language of the preſent motion is, to diſgrace our Sovereign, and to bring reproach upon us as a nation. It is, in a manner, totally to annihilate this once great empire.—I chuſe to ſpeak out my ſentiments, even although there may be danger in doing ſo. I always hated reſerve; and never did approve of halting between two opinions, when there was no middle path to ſteer with certainty. The perfidy of France ought to rouſe us, and make us ſtrain every nerve, open every vein, to preſerve our national character, and to prevent us from being ſcoffed and laughed at by foreigners. It is now abſolutely neceſſary to declare either for peace or war; and when the former cannot be preſerved with honour, the latter ought to be commenced without heſitation.—What is life without reputation? And does that perſon deſerve the name of a *man*, of an *Engliſhman*, who would not lay down his life to preſerve

ſerve the ancient dignity of his country? We may poſſibly fail in the attempt; but ſtill let us make an effort,—one united effort,—to prevent ſuch national diſgrace. If we fall in the attempt, Europe will at leaſt be convinced, that we had as much virtue left as to fall like men.

But, ſays the Noble Lord, we ought to make peace with America on any terms, and bring home our troops in order to protect ourſelves; in ſhort, that we ſhould allow a foreign ambaſſador inſolently to tell *us*, that *his* maſter had made a bargain for that commerce which was *our* natural right, and entered into a treaty with *our own* ſubjects, without ſo much as reſenting it.—Merciful God! to what a low ebb muſt this once great empire be now reduced, when any of her Senators (pointing to the Duke of Richmond) can raiſe up his head, and, with a grave face, openly hold forth ſuch timid, ſuch daſtardly counſels?—This never was the language of Britain, and never ſhall be mine.—What! can it be poſſible that we are the ſame people who, about ſixteen years ago, were the envy and admiration of all the world? Is not this England? Is not this the Senate of G. Britain? And can we have forgot that we are Engliſhmen? Can we have forgot that the nation has ſtood the Daniſh irruptions, the Scotch inroads, the Norman conqueſts, the Spaniſh armada, and the various efforts of the Bourbon compacts? Of what then are we afraid? Why are we blinded by deſpair? Why ſhould we ſit down in ignominious tameneſs; and, with a deſponding face, ſay to France, "Take from us what you will, take all we have; but do, pray do, let us live, and die, in peace?" Shame upon ſuch diſgraceful, ſuch pitiful counſels!—My God! how we are altered! What can have occaſioned ſo ſudden an alteration? Is the King ſtill the ſame? I hope he is; but I fear there is ſomething in the dark, ſomething rotten near him, ſomething lurking between him and his people, which has thus diſmembered his empire, and tarniſhed his glory.—But I truſt that we ſtill have reſources, ſtill have courage to puniſh the perfidy of France. Why then ſhould we now give up all? and that too without a blow, without an attempt to reſent the inſults offered to us? If France and Spain are for war, why not try an iſſue with them? For, I again ſay, if we ſhould fall in the attempt, let us fall decently; and, if we cannot live with honour, let us die like men. Heaven forbid that we ſhould be permitted to live one day for the purpoſe of making ſcourges for our own backs!

At preſent I cannot point out the means for carrying on the war; but I wiſh to recal to your Lordſhips remembrance the extent and revenue of the crown when King George III. came to the poſſeſſion of it. Your Lordſhips will then be ſatisfied, that the internal reſources of the kingdom are great.—But I do deny, (pointing to the Duke of Cumberland), that your Lordſhips, ſuppoſing you were ſo puſillanimous, have any right to vote away the inheritance of thirteen American provinces from the Royal Family. I revere the deſcendents of the body of the Princeſs Sopia; and before I agree to the preſent motion, I will have the Prince of Wales, the Biſhop of Oſnaburg, and the other riſing hopes of the Royal blood, brought down to this Houſe, with their father at their head, to conſent to give up what they have a legal and natural right to expect to poſſeſs.—Feeble and ſhattered as I am; yet, as long as I have ſtrength to raiſe myſelf on my crutches,—ſo long as I can lift my hand, or can utter a ſyllable,—I will vote againſt the giving up the dependency of America on the ſovereignty of Great Britain. Even if I ſhould ſtand ſingle, I will, to the laſt moment of my exiſtence, vote againſt a meaſure ſo diſhonourable to my country. From my bad ſtate of health, I am ſenſible, that my abilities are not now ſuch as to enſure ſucceſs even to the beſt-concerted meaſures; but I ſhall always be ready, when called on, to give an honeſt advice to my beloved Sovereign.

I wage war with no ſet of men, nor do I wiſh to get into any of their employments. I think the King has a right to chuſe his own ſervants; but if they ſhall betray the truſt repoſed in them, I ſhall always be for an inquiry into their conduct; and if they are found guilty, I hope there is ſtill ſpirit in the nation to bring miniſters to condign puniſhment. I truſt in God, however, that his Majeſty will be directed to make a proper choice of his ſervants. There never was a king who ſtood more in need of able and honeſt miniſters.—But I feel my conſtitution fails me.—I am always much indebted to your Lordſhips for your tender indulgence.—If my health would permit, if my frail carcaſe could be ſupported,

ported, I could ſpeak for ever on this ſubject, when the dignity of my king, and the honour of my country, are at ſtake. The good of the nation is my ſole ambition; and although I do earneſtly pray for an honourable peace, yet I hope never to live ſo long, as to ſee ſuch diſgrace brought on the kingdom as muſt ariſe from a peace produced by puſillanimous counſels, which any peace with America as independent ſtates muſt be. I feel my mind agitated at the thoughts of it. My ſoul revolts; — it ſpurns at the idea of American independency; and, therefore, I will, on every occaſion, give it a negative.

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The Duke of Richmond replied, by agreeing with the Noble Lord in all his ideas of the dignity and honour of his country, but aſked, Where were the means of ſupporting this honour and dignity? The men of this country, which his Lordſhip ſo much relied on, were not to be computed from crowds, or high-roads, but by their national, aggregate numbers; that taking them on this computation, which was the only one, theſe countries ſcarcely produced eight millions, whereas France alone produced twenty-four millions; that in former times of difficulty, we had America at our ſide, with her three millions in the ſcale; but now that ſcale was turned againſt us; and if we went to war,

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Suppoſe we were willing to allow the claim of independence, (ſaid his Lordſhip), that we were ready to ſacrifice the moſt eſſential intereſts of this country, are we likely to turn our backs upon the laws of eternal juſtice? are we to make a ſacrifice of national faith? What is to become of thoſe unhappy men who, from their loyalty, no matter whether right or wrong, have riſked every thing, and loſt every thing, in defending the cauſe of G. Britain? What will become of the infant children of the late Mr Penn, the deſcendents of that great man, the proprietor and legiſlator of Pennſylvania, to whoſe abilities, labour, and attention, America owes the greateſt part of her preſent power and opulence? What will become of the property belonging to a Noble Viſcount in my eye [Weymouth]? or of the heirs of the late Lord Baltimore? What will become of thoſe men who have been compelled to flee from their native country; and who, if American independency ſhould prevail, will be the firſt perſons to ſuffer under American proſcription; who will be baniſhed for ever from their native country, and deſpoiled of their eſtates and poſſeſſions? What will become of the moſt uſeful, and one of the moſt reſpectable bodies of men in the nation, the merchants, particularly thoſe of the city of London, who have all along conducted themſelves in ſo candid and moderate a manner, and have now nearly two millions of property lying in America? All theſe ſeveral deſcriptions of men, muſt be totally ruined, or materially injured.

In reſpect to the means of ſupporting this, and a war with France, which may be the conſequence, he hoped there were reſources enough in this country, both in reſpect to men and money, for that purpoſe. In reſpect to the firſt, men, — he aſked their Lordſhips, Were not they men? were not the perſons below the bar men? were not all the principal ſtreets and roads crowded with men? and would not theſe, in a time of public danger, be ſufficient to meet the Houſe of Bourbon?—In reſpect to money, he ſaid, there was no deficiency he hoped there. Houſes were building every where; money was diſſipating every where; a great deal was hoarding, &c.; and if a proper confidence could only be communicated to the public, he would anſwer for it there would be found money enough for all the purpoſes of a war.

The Duke of Richmond replied, by agreeing with the Noble Lord in all his ideas of the dignity and honour of his country, but aſked, Where were the means of ſupporting this honour and dignity? The men of this country, which his Lordſhip ſo much relied on, were not to be computed from crowds, or high-roads, but by their national, aggregate numbers; that taking them on this computation, which was the only one, theſe countries ſcarcely produced eight millions, whereas France alone produced twenty-four millions; that in former times of difficulty, we had America at our ſide, with her three millions in the ſcale; but now that ſcale was turned againſt us; and if we went to war,

we drew the ſword, all exhauſted as we were, againſt France, Spain, and America.—In reſpect to money we were no better off, which the common experience could juſtify, which our ſtocks loudly proclaimed, and the poverty of the people; ſo that though he was for defending the honour and dignity of the empire as much as poſſible, yet we were in ſuch a ſituation, that he thought a punctilio ſhould be given up ſooner than riſk the exiſtence of a people. He urged, as another reaſon for this, the diſtance of our fleets and armies from our ſupport, if attacked by France, whilſt they had the flower of their troops unexhauſted, and prepared to act upon any ſudden emergency in a collective body. — His Grace aſſured their Lordſhips, that no one more ſincerely wiſhed that America might return to her former dependence and connection with this country than he did; but it was the impracticability in one event, the danger in the other, and the injuſtice of compelling her by force of arms, that all equally operated upon his mind, and induced him to be of opinion, that the only way to get clear of all thoſe difficulties, would be at once to declare her independent.

Lord Shelburne roſe to explain himſelf, by ſaying, he did not mean to carry on a war with America, but to draw off our fleets and armies, and inſtantly to attack France; that this ought to be done the very night the miniſtry had the firſt advice of the treaty. By this conduct, he would anſwer for it, America would ſee her error in agreeing with France, and would ſend plenipotentiaries to G. Britain to treat on terms of amity and commerce. His Lordſhip then ſpoke highly of what one might be able to do towards ſaving a ſtate, and inſtanced, out of many examples, Hannibal and Prince Ferdinand; the latter one of whom he highly praiſed, and wiſhed we had him now in our ſervice, who, with 40,000 men, all laſt war, kept 100,000 men in awe of him.

The Duke of Richmond replied to moſt of the leading points of the Noble Lord's ſpeech, and in particular to the ſaving a ſtate by one man: he granted ſuch a thing had been ſometimes done; but the inſtances were very rare; and when they did happen, they had an army at their back, as was the caſe of Hannibal: but we had no ſuch thing; our army, at leaſt a great part of it, may never come back, and we have a very inſufficient one at preſent to repel any ſudden attack. — His Grace, with all the ſpirit of an Engliſhman, paid Prince Ferdinand a proper compliment, but at the ſame time hoped never to ſee a foreign general at the head of Britiſh troops; that we had many able ones of our own; and he had a Noble Lord in his eye [Lord Waldegrave] who at the battle of Minden, with ſix regiments alone, unaſſiſted by Prince Ferdinand, or any other foreign general, gained immortal honour.

Lord Ravenſworth concluded the debate, by ſaying, if miniſtry had a mind to act like honeſt men, and to regain the confidence of the people, they ſhould go to the King,—tell him that they had been miſtaken,—that they had involved this nation in great difficulties,—and that finding themſelves unequal to the taſk of getting the people out of them, beg of his Majeſty to accept of their reſignations.

The queſtion being then put, Whether Lord Scarſdale might quit the chair? the Houſe divided, when the Contents were 50, Not contents 33; majority 17.

The Houſe being reſumed, the original motion was put, and negatived without a diviſion.

Mr David Hartley, when the Commons were in a committee of inquiry, April 9. made a ſtring of reſolutions, to the ſame purpoſe with the addreſs moved for by the Duke of Richmond. Lord North and others oppoſed; and a motion, That the chairman ſhould leave the chair? was, after ſome oppoſition, carried.

On the 26th of May Mr Viner got up, and imparted to the Commons the reaſons that induced him, before the termination of the preſent ſeſſion, to put ſome queſtions to an Hon. member [Gen. Burgoyne] whom he then ſaw in his place, and who alone could clear up the myſterious buſineſs of the Canada expedition. Here he gave a ſtring of queſtions; and moved to go into a committee, to conſider the ſtate and condition of the army which ſurrendered themſelves priſoners at Saratoga, and alſo by what means Gen. Burgoyne is now returned to England.—Mr Wilkes aroſe to ſecond the motion, and propoſed an amendment, for going back into the origin of the expedition; and to inquire into the affair of the ſavages, and the burning of towns and villages in the courſe of the ſaid expedition.

Gen.

Gen. Burgoyne. Not imagining there would be any motion by the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke firſt, but that merely a deſire of information would be expreſſed upon certain ſubjects, I had myſelf prepared a motion for an addreſs to the King, to have ſuch papers laid before the Houſe, as are now in poſſeſſion of the ſecretary of ſtate, and contain an account in detail, much too long for me to give in my place, of every circumſtance expreſſed in the queſtions of the Hon. Gentleman. Thoſe papers are of the utmoſt importance to the ſtate, to parliament, and to the public.

The turn the buſineſs has taken precludes me at preſent from my intended motion; but I riſe to give my warmeſt ſupport to the amendment propoſed; and as reaſons for the expediency of inſtituting a full enquiry, to which the amendment points, I ſhall endeavour, as far as I can do it without breach of order in debate, to give to both the gentlemen ſatisfaction upon the particular ſubjects of their enquiries.

I agree with the Hon. Gentleman who ſeconded the motion, that all the conduct reſpecting the Indian nations is a matter that ought to be thoroughly canvaſſed; and I look upon his calling upon me openly, and in my place, as ſome reparation for the very free and not very generous comments he made upon my conduct in my abſence.

Sir, I ever eſteemed the Indian alliances, at beſt, a neceſſary evil. I ever believed their ſervices to be overvalued; ſometimes inſignificant, often barbarous, always capricious; and that the employment of them was only juſtifiable, when by being united to a regular army, they could be kept under controul, and made ſubſervient to a general ſyſtem.

Upon this principle I heartily concurred with that gallant and humane general, Sir Guy Carleton, in the year 1776, to decline the offers and ſolicitations of the Indians to be then employed ſeparately: the impoſſibility of completing the preparations for paſſing the regular troops over the lakes, made it impoſſible to employ them conjunctively.

In that year, Sir, it was my lot, by delegation from Sir Guy Careleton, who was then at Quebec, to preſide at one of the greateſt councils with the Indians that had been held at Montreal. Many gentlemen here know, that the ceremony preceding the taking up of the hatchet, is, to offer to the repreſentative of the power they mean to ſerve the pipe of war. It was preſſed upon me by the chiefs preſent; and it was in my power, by a ſingle whif of tobacco, to have given flame and exploſion to a dozen nations. I never felt greater ſatisfaction than in being able to fulfil the inſtructions I was charged with, for reſtraining the impetuous paſſions of theſe people: it was a ſecondary ſatisfaction, at my return to England in the winter, to juſtify the conduct of Sir Guy Carleton in this reſpect, though the juſtification was very unpopular, among thoſe—I mean not to particularize miniſters, or miniſters of miniſters, but—among thoſe men, who, in their zeal againſt the coloniſts, had adopted the reaſoning, That "partial ſeverity was general mercy," provided by carrying terrors it conduced to finiſhing the war. How juſt ſoever this principle may be, my mind is not of a texture for carrying it it into effect; and I returned to Canada the following ſpring, when I ſucceeded to the command, determined to be the ſoldier, not the executioner, of the ſtate.

I found care had been already taken by Gen. Carleton, upon the ſame principles of humanity which always direct his conduct, to officer the Indians with gentlemen ſelected from the Britiſh troops, upon a diſtinction of their temper and judgement, as well as upon that of their valour; and in much greater number than ever was deſtined to that ſervice before. To theſe precautions I added that of a favourite prieſt, who had more controul over the paſſions of the Indians than all their chiefs put together; and I truſt the expence put upon government to engage that gentleman's aſſiſtance through the courſe of the campaign, will not be eſteemed an improper article in my accounts.

Sir, with theſe aſſiſtances I was able to enforce obedience to the injunctions of my ſpeech at the great council, upon aſſembling the army, which has been made public [130.]. Barbarity was prevented; ſo much ſo, that in one inſtance, two wounded provincial officers were brought off in the midſt of fire upon the backs of Indians; and a captain and his whole detachment, placed in ambuſcade, were brought priſoners to my camp by Indians, without a man hurt, though it was evident they were placed for the ſpecial purpoſe of deſtroying me upon a reconnoitring party, and I was at that time very popular with the Indians.

I could produce many more inſtances to ſhew that every poſſible exertion of humanity was uſed; and that, the caſe of Miſs M'Rae excepted [39. 648, 9.], which was accident, not premeditated cruelty, the ſtories upon which the Hon. Gentleman founded his accuſation of me were merely thoſe fabricated by committees, and propagated in news-papers, for temporary purpoſes. The proclamation [39. 368.], which the Hon. Gentleman, in my abſence, treated with ſo harſh terms, I avow, was penned by myſelf. The deſign was, to excite obedience, firſt by encouragement, and next by the dread, not the commiſſion, of ſeverity;—"to ſpeak daggers, but uſe none." And ſo far were the Americans, in their hearts, from putting upon that proclamation the interpretation that gentleman has done, that it ſerved to procure me reſpect and acknowledgement where-ever I afterwards travelled through the country.

Sir, a gentleman has been in London great part of the winter, who I wiſh had been called to your bar.—It is for the ſake of truth only I wiſh it; for he is certainly not my friend. His name is *St Luc le Corne*, a diſtinguiſhed partiſan of the French in the laſt war, and now in the Britiſh ſervice as a leader of the Indians.—He owes us indeed ſome ſervice, having been formerly inſtrumental in ſcalping many hundred Britiſh ſoldiers upon the very ground where, though with a different ſort of latitude, he was this year employed. He is by nature, education, and practice, artful, ambitious, and a courtier. To the grudge he owed me for controuling him in the uſe of the hatchet and ſcalping-knife, it was natural to his character to recommend himſelf to miniſterial favour, by any cenſure in his power to caſt upon an unfaſhionable general. He was often cloſeted by a Noble Lord in my eye, [G. Germaine], and, with all theſe diſadvantages, as he has not been examined here, I wiſh the Noble Lord to inform the Houſe what this man has preſumed to ſay of my conduct with the Indians. I know, in private companies, his language has been, that the Indians might have done great ſervices, but they were diſcharged. Sir, if to reſtrain them from murder was to diſcharge them, I take with pride the blame.—They were diſcharged. That circumſtance apart, I ſhould ſay, that the Indians, and Mr St Luc at the head of them, deſerted.

Sir, in regard to the call made upon me by the ſame Hon. Gentleman, for explanation reſpecting the burning of the country during the progreſs of the army under my command, I am ignorant of any ſuch circumſtance; I do not recollect more than one accident by fire; I poſitively aſſert there was no fire by order or countenance of myſelf, or any other officer, except at Saratoga. That diſtrict is the property of Maj.-Gen. Schuyler of the American troops; there were large barracks built by him, which took fire the day after the army arrived upon the ground in their retreat; and I believe I need not ſtate any other proof of that matter being merely accident, than that the barracks were then made uſe of as my hoſpital, and full of ſick and wounded ſoldiers. Gen. Schuyler had likewiſe a very good dwelling-houſe, exceeding large ſtore-houſes, great ſaw-mills, and other out-buildings, to the value all together perhaps of ten thouſand pounds: a few days before the negotiation with Gen. Gates, the enemy had formed a plan to attack me; a large column of troops were approaching to paſs the ſmall river, preparatory to a general action, and were entirely covered from the fire of my artillery by thoſe buildings. Sir, I avow that I gave the order to ſet them on fire; and in a very ſhort time that whole property I have deſcribed was conſumed. But, to ſhew that the perſon moſt deeply concerned in that calamity did not put the conſtruction upon it which it has pleaſed the Hon. Gentleman to do, I muſt inform the Houſe, that one of the firſt perſons I ſaw after the convention was ſigned, was Gen. Schuyler. I expreſſed to him my regret at the event which had happened, and the reaſons which had occaſioned it. He deſired me to think no more of it; ſaid, that the occaſion juſtified it, according to the principles and rules of war, and he ſhould have done the ſame upon the ſame occaſion, or words to that effect. He did more:—he ſent an aid-de-camp to conduct me to Albany, in order, as he expreſſed, to procure me better quarters than a ſtranger might be able to find. This gentleman conducted me to a very elegant houſe; and, to my great ſurpriſe, preſented me to Mrs Schuyler and her family; and in this General's houſe I remained during my whole ſtay at Albany, with a table of more than twenty covers for me and my friends, and every

other

other poſſible demonſtration of hoſpitality: A ſituation, painful it is true in point of ſenſibility at the time, but which I now contemplate with ſome ſatisfaction, as carrying undeniable teſtimony how little I deſerved the charges of the Hon. Gentleman; and I leave it to his feelings, whether, after this explanation, ſome farther apology is not due to me.

In regard to the firſt and moſt material queſtion aſked me by the Hon. Gentleman who propoſed the motion, viz. In what ſituation is the army at Cambridge? It is with ſome ſurpriſe I find that any part of this country is ignorant of the extraordinary circumſtances that have attended it, as I conceive government muſt have received intelligence of them ſome time ago. In regard to the report made by myſelf, I acquit the King's miniſters of any blame in not yet having made it public, becauſe it was ſo voluminous that the papers could not be digeſted and copied, with the conſtant labour of three clerks, before laſt Saturday, when they were put into the hands of the Noble Lord, ſecretary of ſtate for the American department. But I truſt that Noble Lord will now loſe no time to make public matters of ſuch importance. Let them undergo the ſcrutiny of the committee, as propoſed by the amended motion; and let the world judge, upon their report, whether the ſpirit of the troops and the honour of the nation have been ſuſtained and vindicated during thoſe tranſactions. In confidence that theſe papers cannot poſſibly be withheld, I refer the Hon. Gentleman to them for a full delineation and explanation of the ſtate of things at Cambridge, and will reſt my preſent information upon a few material facts.

The troops have undergone hardſhips, and trials of patience, as ſevere, though of a different nature, as any they experienced in the conflicts of the campaign. They have acquitted themſelves with equal reſolution, temper, and honour. They are at preſent detained by a reſolve of the Congreſs, expreſſing that there are cauſes of ſuſpicion that the convention was deſigned to be broke on our part, and therefore they are juſtifiable, without breach of public faith, to ſuſpend the imbarkation of the troops till the convention is ratified by the court of G. Britain.

In common with various pretences which involved other names in high departments to juſtify this meaſure, the Congreſs grounded many ſuppoſitions that I knew to be unjuſt, upon my conduct. I thought it a duty to the ſtate, to the army, and to myſelf, to refute thoſe ſuppoſitions, and ſtill, if poſſible, to give immediate effect to the convention. It will reſt upon the Houſe to judge, when they ſee the papers, whether I made good that refutation.

And that brings me to another queſtion aſked by the Hon. Gentleman: "By what means, and upon what condition, I am in perſon here?" Sir, I charged my aid-de-camp, who carried my diſpatch to the Congreſs in anſwer to their vote of ſuſpenſion, which the preſident had officially ſent me, with a ſecond letter, to be delivered, in caſe the ſuſpenſion, after conſideration had of my firſt letter, was continued. The purport of this letter was, to aſk paſſports for my perſonal return for the re-eſtabliſhment of my health, (which was then much affected), for the purpoſe of ſettling large and complicated accounts, and other reaſons; and I offered to give a parole, that ſhould the ſuſpenſion of imbarkation be prolonged beyond the time apprehended, I would return to America upon demand of the Congreſs, and due notice given, re-deliver my perſon into their hands, and abide the fate of the reſt of the army with whom I had ſerved. Sir, I had many reaſons, not neceſſary nor proper to be alledged to the Congreſs, founded upon a nearer intereſt than health or any private expediency, to make me deſirous to return home: to lay before government important truths, not to be communicated by other means, and to ſupply, as far as in me lay, by an aſſiduous and honeſt exertion in this Houſe, the misfortune that had diſenabled me from performing my duty in the field. I accompanied my letter to the Congreſs by one to Gen. Waſhington, wherein, upon an opinion of his character, I aſked him for his ſupport to an application that could not interfere with the public duties of our reſpective ſituations. I ſhall beg leave to read his anſwer as part of my ſpeech; and I do it, Sir, not only leſt in theſe times of doubt and aſperſion, I ſhould incur cenſure for holding private correſpondence with an enemy, but likewiſe becauſe I think this letter, though from an enemy, does honour to the human heart. Here the General read the letter [251.]

Sir,

Sir, the Congreſs readily conſented to my application; and by this candid treatment of my enemies, I am here to vindicate my conduct againſt the falſe and barbarous interpretations that have ariſen, and have been ſuffered to prevail, by thoſe who could have contradicted them, at home.

The Hon. Gentleman wiſhes to know what is the difference of numbers of the army between the time of ſigning the convention and the preſent time; and I find the idea of great deſertion very much prevails. That ſome have deſerted, in the worſt ſenſe of the word, is true. They are few, the ſcum of the regiments, and no loſs of real ſtrength. The greater part who have abſconded, have had no intention to abandon the ſervice; and if an epithet of honour could at any time be applied to a fault, theirs might be called an *honourable deſertion* *. Some of theſe men left letters or ſent meſſages to their officers, informing them, that in their preſent want of neceſſaries and comforts, and their inability to ſerve in arms, they had taken to trades and day-labour in the country; but that they held themſelves under an obligation, from which they would never depart, to return to their regiments whenever the time of imbarkation was aſcertained: others, upon a high, though miſtaken ſuggeſtion of ſpirit, made efforts to effectuate a paſſage through the woods, to join the armies under Sir William Howe, or Sir Henry Clinton; and it is believed that ſome of them ſucceeded. The whole of the abſentees may amount to between 5 and 600 men.

Sir, I have thus far endeavoured to give the Hon. Gentlemen ſatisfaction in the matters that ſeem moſt immediately to engage their attention, and that I could, conſiſtently with order, adduce in argument to ſupport my vote for a more general enquiry.

I ſhall now proceed (as yet ſtronger reaſons for agreeing with the amendment) to take notice of what has hitherto paſſed in the Houſe, and upon very imperfect information, reſpecting other parts of the late campaign.

But, Sir, accuſtomed as I have been to be indulged by the Houſe upon every occaſion; and confident, as I ought to be, upon one where their indulgence is juſtice, I find cauſe in my own mind, in entering upon ſo complicated a ſubject, to implore anew the fulleſt ſcope to their patience and candour, for a man, whoſe faculties, far too weak for ſuch ſhocks, are almoſt unhinged by a ſucceſſion of difficulties abroad, that fall to the lot of few, and whoſe diſappointments and anxieties have been conſummated, by the unexpected reception he has met with at home.

And this addreſs, Sir, is the more neceſſary, becauſe I ſtand here unconnected and unaſſiſted. I am ignorant who would have ſupported my own motion, had I made it, though confident, from a prepoſſeſſion of its propriety, it would have found aſſiſtance ſomewhere. Neither courting nor fearing power, neither courting nor fearing party, I ſtand here upon the ſole baſis of truth and honour, and only aſk ſupport in proportion to the juſtice of my cauſe.

During my abſence an inquiry was inſtituted [469.], in which my name was very much involved. In the ſhort ſpace of time ſince my return, and in the agitated ſtate of mind I have mentioned, it has been impoſſible for me to obtain, from the mere converſation and recollection of friends, all that paſſed upon that occaſion; but I have collected enough to know that I have been treated with great attention in general; and it is among my firſt duties to return to every quarter of the Houſe my very ſincere and grateful acknowledgements. I alſo know, that with all that attention and favour, much implied cenſure muſt have fallen upon me, from the nature of the proceedings, and more eſpecially from the poſition, which I cannot admit to be a true one, but which I underſtand has been much inſiſted upon, "That where there is miſcarriage there muſt be blame; and

* Gen. Burgoyne took occaſion, in two ſubſequent debates, to explain his meaning in this phraſe, which he found had been miſunderſtood both within and without the Houſe. He meant to apply the word *honourable* only to the common ſoldier's conception, who, unuſed to conſider and diſcriminate punctiliouſly the obligations of conventions with an enemy, acted only upon the principles of zeal to ſerve his king, and again to be actively employed in arms; that therefore their conduct was honourably intended, though miſconceived: That ſo far from juſtifying that conception himſelf, he was perſuaded, that to retain ſuch deſerters when demanded, or indeed diſcovered, would be an infringement of the convention; and he was perſuaded Sir William Howe or Sir Henry Clinton would, upon ſuch demand or diſcovery, return them.

and conſequently, that the acquittal of one man infers the condemnation of another."

Sir, the papers which have been laid before the Houſe are in ſome reſpects deficient, and in others ſuperfluous. The firſt ſuperfluity to which I allude, is a private letter from me to the Noble Lord, acquainting him with my intention of going to Bath; of my audience with the King; of my ſolicitation to his Majeſty for active employment the next campaign; expreſſing my hopes of his Lordſhip's patronage in that purſuit, and concluding with ſuch acknowledgements and profeſſions as were natural to flow from a warm and unſuſpicious heart, impreſſed with a ſenſe of another's favour.

Not conceiving for what poſſible public purpoſe this letter was produced, I can only attend to the effects it has had to prejudice me perſonally. Suſpicions have been excited, that at the time I wrote that letter I was courting command, and by adulatory means, in preference and in prejudice to Sir Guy Carleton, under whom I had had the honour to ſerve, a confidential ſecond, in the preceding campaign. Every perſon in government might have pronounced my acquittal of ſo baſe a proceeding, becauſe they knew, though the public did not, that it was decided * in the autumn of 1776, and notified to Sir Guy Carleton accordingly, that his military command was confined to the boundaries of the province of Quebec. It did not occur to the Noble Lord to ſtate that fact, becauſe doubtleſs he did not foreſee the prejudices the letter would occaſion; but I cannot but lament he did not produce other letters of mine, which would have removed effectually every poſſible ſuſpicion of a deſign ſo foreign to my heart as that of ſupplanting a gallant friend. Such letters would at the ſame time have rendered unneceſſary the long train of correſpondence laid upon your table, to ſhew that the preparations in Canada were duly expedited; becauſe I ſhould have been found to expreſs the fulleſt ſenſe of the zeal, the aſſiduity, and the honour, with which Sir Guy Carleton acted, notwithſtanding his diſappointment in not being employed to conduct the campaign.

Will it be ſaid, that the letters I allude to were with held becauſe they were private? — In the firſt place, they do not properly come under that deſcription, though it is true they were not office-letters.—They could not be directed as ſuch; becauſe, acting in ſubordination to Sir Guy Carleton, the official correſpondence could only with decorum paſs through him: but they were not private as applied to ſecrecy, nor improper, as they related to the diſtinct and ſeparate object of the command I was entering upon. But, Sir, had any parts of theſe letters (or of any others neceſſary to my juſtification, of which I ſay there are many) been private in any ſenſe of the word, will that excuſe be alledged for detaining them, when there has appeared before you a paper of the moſt ſecret nature, I mean my thoughts upon conducting the war from the ſide of Canada? What officer will venture hereafter to give his opinion upon meaſures or men, when called upon by a miniſter, if his confidence, his reaſoning, and his preferences, are thus to be invidiouſly expoſed, to create jealouſies and differences among his fellow-officers, and at laſt to put an impoſition upon the world, and make him reſponſible for the plan as well as the execution of a hazardous campaign? The plan as originally drawn, I have no reaſon to be aſhamed of, becauſe it underwent the inſpection, and had the ſanction, of ſome of the firſt and ableſt officers of this country: but the plan as it ſtood when my orders were framed, can with no more propriety be called mine, than any others formed by the cabinet for the diſtant parts of America, or any other quarter of the globe, where I had no participation or concern. —The Noble Lord well knows, that the idea expreſſed in the ſecret paper laid before you, of a latitude to act againſt New England, was eraſed; that a power to imbark the troops in caſe of unforeſeen impediments, and make the junction with the ſouthern army by ſea, was not admitted. — Will it then be inſinuated that the plan was mine? — Why was it not produced in that changed and garbled ſtate by which the miniſter made it his own?

* This deciſion was made, not only upon the expediency of the Governor attending the civil duties of the province, which were thought at that time to require particular attention, but alſo upon doubts whether the General's commiſſion authoriſed him to act beyond the boundaries: and this whole tranſaction paſſed long before the return of Gen. Burgoyne to England, and entirely without his knowledge.

own? Becauſe it would have been one proof, if one had been wanting to unprejudiced minds, that by cutting off every propoſed latitude, and confining the plan to one only object, the *forcing* a paſſage to Albany, the orders framed upon that plan could be no otherwiſe underſtood, than as poſitive, peremptory, and indiſpenſable.——But, Sir, it has been boldly inſinuated, and perhaps even credited by ſome in this Houſe, that the words at the latter end of the orders, which are called the ſaving clauſe, were ſpecially dictated by me.—Sir, to ſuppoſe that is to ſuppoſe me an idiot!—Saving clauſe!—to whom? Surely not to the General who was to act under it; for ſee the ſituation in which it puts him:—Under the words, "You are to act as exigencies may require," let us ſuppoſe him to take the cautious part. He makes no attempt upon the enemy, becauſe his *exigency* was ſuch, that in doing ſo he muſt abandon his communications, and riſk his retreat. What would the government, the army, and the country, have ſaid to him? What ought every man to have ſaid to him who read the prior part of this order?——"Is this vigorous exertion? Is this to *force* your way to Albany? The enemy were panic-ſtruck before Britiſh troops; their numbers therefore were but as ſhadows. The loyaliſts awaited your advance to join by thouſands.—Sir H. Clinton was ready to move upon the lower part of Hudſon's river.—Your interpretation of orders was nonſenſe; your inactivity was cowardice.—You have ignominiouſly loſt the campaign."

Take the conſideration the other way.——The General follows the principle, the ſpirit, and the letter, of his order;—fights his ground by inches, and miſcarries. "You ſhall be diſgraced for your raſhneſs," ſays the miniſter.—"You had a reſerve, and ſhould have made uſe of it. *Exigencies* required you ſhould have remained on the caſt ſide the Hudſon's river." Sir, to imagine a general could dictate ſuch a dilemma for himſelf is prepoſterous. To believe that miniſters could mean it, is ſevere credulity againſt them: it would be to believe them capable of the equivocation of a fiend, to inſure the ruin of thoſe who acted under their direction, whatever part they ſhould take. I charge them not ſo heavily. I am perſuaded that ſaving clauſe was meant when it was penned, as it has been underſtood by me, by Sir William Howe, and by every other perſon who has read it, as referring ſolely to exigencies after the arrival of my army at Albany.

But, Sir, this ideal blame, in not availing myſelf of the *ſaving clauſe*, has been ſupported by a ſtory, that I ſhould have hardly believed it within malevolence to invent, but which I find has been propagated with great induſtry, viz. that Gen[s] Philips and Fraſer remonſtrated againſt the paſſage of the Hudſon's river; and that finding their remonſtrances of no avail, they took the parts of brave men in deſpair, and perſevered in their duty againſt their reaſon. Upon the honour of a gentleman, without any ſaving or reſervation whatſoever, I pronounce that report to be a direct and abominable falſehood. Sir, thoſe officers were the eyes and the hands by which I conducted all material operations: more able adviſers, or more faithful friends, never exiſted: that they ſaw I was placed in an arduous ſituation, and felt for my difficulties, it is true; but that they ever dropt a ſyllable that implied an idea that I had an alternative, I flatly deny. The indefatigable alacrity of Gen. Philips to bring forward the tranſports preparatory to the paſſage of the river, was uncommon even in ſupport of a favourite object; it would have been uncommon indeed had he acted with ſecret reluctancy! As to Gen. Fraſer, our communications were thoſe of the moſt unreſerved friendſhip; and it is my pride to affirm, that the conſonancy of his ſentiments with mine was almoſt invariable. Upon the paſſage of the Hudſon's river, in particular, he thought it of uncontrovertible expediency; he thought it glorious danger; he was conſulted upon all meaſures at the time, and ſubſequent to it; he bore an active part in many; he approved of all; and the laſt ſentence he uttered, was a meſſage of affection and good wiſhes to me.

The other falſehoods that have been diſperſed reſpecting the ſame period of time, can hardly be urged as reaſons for inquiry, for they are below refutation; ſuch as the delays occaſioned by carrying forward *all* the artillery, and a cumberous train of baggage. "It was a mark of Eaſtern pomp," ſays a miniſterial news-writer. That *all* the artillery was with the army is falſe, for the heavy train was ſent back to Canada: the field-train, which remained, was that which had been deſtined

deſtined for the expedition, when Sir Guy Carleton expected to have the conduct of it in perſon. That intelligent and judicious officer Gen. Philips had been conſulted upon the proportion; and it had been regulated upon the conſideration of the nature of the war; the power of that army in forcing poſts, and againſt new troops; and the probability of having poſts ourſelves to fortify. Neither, Sir, was the artillery, in the proportion carried, the cauſe of the leaſt delay; becauſe the horſes that drew it were ſupernumerary to thoſe which were ſufficient for all the carts and waggons we had; and conſequently, within the time indiſpenſably given for the tranſport of the proviſions, the artillery was brought forward by horſes that could have been no otherwiſe employed.

The ſuppoſed quantity of baggage is equally erroneous. I cannot ſuffer an idea ſo unjuſt to the ſpirit of the army to remain upon the minds of the public. All baggage of bulk, to the abridgement of many material comforts, had been chearfully left behind by the officers; ſome of them had not beds; many lay in ſoldiers tents; and I know of none that had more than the common neceſſaries for active ſervice.

It muſt be total want of knowledge of the country and the war, to ſuppoſe, that, with all theſe precautions, the train of carriages did not ſtill remain great. It is to be conſidered, there was a train of ſix hundred carriages; and thoſe too few for the indiſpenſable purpoſe of tranſporting proviſions where there was no water-carriage; there was another train of very cumberous carriages, equally neceſſary for the tranſport of the boats, where the rapids prevented their paſſage in the ſtream; a tranſport, in ſome places, of many miles in length. Sir, it would be trifling with the Houſe to dwell longer upon theſe cenſures, the offſpring of malice and ignorance: the prevalence of ſuch reports tends to one uſe: It will perſuade the world, at leaſt, that material faults could not abound, when detraction itſelf is reduced to have recourſe to ſuch accuſation.

Sir, reverting therefore to the more groſs injuries my reputation has ſuſtained, I think I have ſtated enough to ſhew, that the character of a member has been unavoidably brought into queſtion; and upon his aſſertion, that the information the Houſe has proceeded upon is incomplete and fallacious, I know not what deſcription of men could juſtly refuſe to him perſonally a new and full inquiry.

I would aſk of miniſters themſelves, what would be their feelings, if, after an unſucceſsful undertaking, of high truſt and importance, and debarred, by an interdiction, from the preſence of their ſovereign, the means of ſubmitting their conduct to that royal breaſt, where juſtice, and benevolence, and protection to the innocent, are ever to be expected, except when truth is perverted or concealed,—what would be their feelings, if refuſed alſo an appeal to their country? To my brother-officers in parliament I would more particularly apply for their ſupport to this amendment, as a common cauſe of the profeſſion: they will conſider the diſcouragement that muſt enſue, and the injury the ſervice muſt ſuffer, if an officer, who is conſcious to have done his beſt, whoſe greateſt enemies pretend not to impute to him any other charges than exceſs of zeal and erroneous judgement, and even theſe charges founded upon a mutilated ſtate of facts, —what is the ſtate of officers, if, upon ſuch grounds, and by the artful management of other circumſtances, they are diſgraced at court, put by, if not inevitably precluded the judgement of a military tribunal, and at laſt denied the only poſſible means of juſtification that remains; —a parliamentary inveſtigation of a meaſure of ſtate with which the rectitude or criminality of their conduct is inſeparably blended? To my Hon. friends who made the original motion early in the winter, and all who took part in it, I may yet more ſtrenuouſly addreſs myſelf, to repair, by the paſſing this queſtion and amendment, the injury that unintentionally they brought upon me by the then confined mode of proceeding. To all theſe conſiderations, Sir, I could join, were it expedient, many more perſuaſive calls upon the human heart, to take up this proceeding for the ſake of an injured individual: but I wave an appeal to private ſentiments, and deſire the motion to be conſidered as a call upon the public duty of the Houſe; and, diveſting myſelf, as far as poſſible, of every perſonal motive; ſcorning the pitiful contention, for ſuch comparatively it would be, whether the miniſter ſhould exonerate himſelf from *this* error in his inſtruction, or the general from *that* in his execution; I here, in my place, as a

repreſentative of the nation, require and demand a full and impartial inquiry into the cauſes of the miſcarriage of the northern army in an expedition from Canada.

It is a great national object. The criſis of the time emphatically requires it. The exiſtence of the Britiſh empire depends upon the exertions of the military, and the beſt foundation for public ſpirit is public juſtice. In addition to the natural animation which as Britons the army poſſeſs, place before their eyes that ſecondary ſpring and controllor of human actions, reward and puniſhment. Let the firſt and moſt glorious reward, the honeſt applauſe of the country, be obtained by a ſcrutiny into truth, for thoſe who deſerve it: on the contrary, if there has been delinquency, let the ſpirit of Manlius preſide in the puniſhment:

"The hand of Fate is over us, and Heaven
Exacts ſeverity from all our thoughts."

If there has been diſobedience; if unauthoriſed by circumſtances, if *uncompelled by orders*, (for I will never ſhrink from that plea), a general has raſhly advanced upon the enemy, and engaged againſt inſurmountable odds; the diſcipline of the ſtate ſhould ſtrike, though it were a favourite ſon:

"*I, Lictor, deliga ad palum.*"

Theſe, Sir, are the means to excite true ambition in your leaders, theſe are the means to keep them in due reſtraint; this was the ſyſtem of the glorious patriot [Lord Chatham] whoſe obſequies you now celebrate; and could his aſhes awaken, they would burſt their cearments to ſupport it.

As for myſelf, if I am guilty, I fear I am deeply guilty: an army loſt! the ſanguine expectation of the kingdom diſappointed! a foreign war cauſed, or the commencement of it accelerated! an effuſion of as brave blood as ever run in Britiſh veins ſhed, and the ſevereſt family-diſtreſſes combined with public calamity!—If this maſs of miſeries be indeed the conſequence of my miſconduct, vain will be the extenuation I can plead of my perſonal ſufferings, fatigue, and hardſhip, laborious days and ſleepleſs nights, ill health and trying ſituations; poor and inſufficient will be ſuch atonement in the judgement of my country, or perhaps in the eyes of God;—yet, with this dreadful alternative in view, I provoke a trial, —Give me inquiry.—I put the intereſts that hang moſt emphatically by the heart-ſtrings of man,—my fortune,—my honour,—my head,—I had almoſt ſaid my ſalvation, upon the teſt.

But, Sir, it is conſolation to me to think that I ſhall be, even in ſurmiſe, the only culprit.—Whatever fate may attend the general who led the army to Saratoga, their behaviour at that memorable ſpot muſt intitle them to the thanks of their country.—Sir, it was a calamitous, it was an awful, but it was an honourable hour.—During the ſuſpenſe of the anſwer from the general of the enemy, to the refuſal made by me of complying with the ignominious conditions he had propoſed, the countenance of the troops beggars deſcription:—a patient fortitude; a ſort of ſtern reſignation, that no pencil or language can reach, ſat on every brow. I am confident every breaſt was prepared to devote its loſt drop of blood, rather than ſuffer a precedent to ſtand upon the Britiſh annals of an ignoble ſurrender [39. 658, 9.].

Sir, an important ſubject of inquiry, as I mentioned at my outſet, ſtill remains,—the tranſactions at Cambridge, and the cauſe of the detention of the troops. If I there have been guilty, let me there alſo be the only ſufferer.

Sir, there is a famous ſtory in ancient hiſtory, that bears ſome analogy to my circumſtances; and when alluſions tend to excite mens minds to exertions of virtue or policy, I ſhall never think them pedantic or miſplaced *. The event I mean happened in an age when Roman virtue was at its height. It was that wherein Manlius devoted his ſon, and the firſt Decius devoted himſelf. A Roman army, ſhut up by the Samnites at Caudium, were obliged to ſurrender their arms, and to ſubmit to the more ignominious condition of paſſing under the yoke of the enemy. The conſul who had commanded them, propoſed in the ſenate, to break the treaty whereby the army was loſt to the ſtate, and to make him in perſon the expiation, by ſending him bound to the enemy to ſuffer death at their hands. In one point of view the preſent caſe extremely differs from the example; becauſe by the treaty at Saratoga the army was ſaved to the ſtate. It is the non-

* It had been mentioned in a former debate, that reference to ancient hiſtory carried ſometimes an air of pedantry, and were ſeldom of uſe.

compliance

compliance with public faith that alone can loſe it.—And here the parallel will hold: if I had been inſtrumental to the loſs of thoſe brave troops *ſince* the treaty, I am as culpable as if I had loſt them *by* the treaty, and ought to be the ſacrifice to redeem them. Sir, this reference may appear vainglorious. It may be doubted whether there exiſts in theſe times public ſpirit ſeriouſly to emulate ſuch examples. I perhaps ſhould find myſelf unequal; but others, who are moſt ready to judge me ſo, muſt at leaſt give credit to one motive for ſtating the parallel,—that I am too conſcious of innocence to apprehend there is the leaſt riſk of being expoſed to the trial.

Sir, I have only to return my ſincereſt thanks to the Houſe for the patience with which they have endured ſo long a treſpaſs upon their time, and to join my hearty concurrence with the other gentlemen who have ſpoken in favour of the amendment.

Ld G. Germaine ſaid, the Hon. Gentleman ſeemed deſirous of an explanation to three circumſtances, which he would readily give him.—As to the confidential letter, it was accidentally put among the official letters, and by that means was ſent by the clerks, among other papers, for which he was very ſorry.—With reſpect to Monſ. St Luc, that gentleman had introduced himſelf to him, as a man who had performed great ſervices at the head of the ſavages; and that, in converſation with him, he had been told, that the General [Mr Burgoyne] was a fine officer with the regulars, but that he did not ſeem to like the ſavages, nor did he take the proper ſteps to retain their good-will; that he was *un brave homme, mais lourd comme un Allemand!* — "a very brave man, but as heavy as a German!" —As to his not having acceſs to his ſovereign, there were various precedents for the refuſal, till his conduct had undergone a military inquiry. His Lordſhip concluded, that as military men were the moſt proper judges to decide in the preſent queſtion, he did not ſee the propriety of parliament interfering in it at all.

Mr Cornwall was likewiſe of opinion, that the parliament were incompetent judges of the matter then before the Houſe.—Mr Thurlow, Attorney-General, urged ſeveral arguments on the ſame ſide, and ſaid he had formed an opinion, though he ſhould not declare it.—Mr Fox warmly ſupported the motion for the inquiry, and cenſured the conduct of the former committee, in ſuffering real information to be with-held from them.—The Earl Nugent ſaid, there was no blame any where, but a ſeries of unexpected events, which were the fortune of war; that every thing reſpecting the charge of inhumanity, or cruelty, or unſoldierlike treatment, was merely a vague report; that he had read every thing publiſhed on the occaſion, and would aſſert, that not a ſingle paper or letter of authenticity had appeared, to juſtify any harſh expreſſion againſt the commander in chief of the army which capitulated at Saratoga.

Mr Wilkes. I am on this occaſion merely the echo of the public voice. I have made no perſonal attack on the commander in chief, nor undertaken to ſupport any charge againſt him. Meaſures, and not perſons, I deſired minutely to inveſtigate; and the epithets which I employed were to the facts and the events. I ſuppoſe it will be admitted, that the convention in 1777 at Saratoga was more diſgraceful than the capitulation at Cloſter Seven in 1757 [19. 483.], becauſe the troops there kept their arms.

I have not proceeded, Sir, at any time on vague report. I referred to authentic letters publiſhed by order of the Congreſs, and to other ſtate-papers of unqueſtionable authority, which demand the moſt ſerious attention, and niceſt ſcrutiny. The memory of the Noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, muſt either be very confuſed, or his reading very confined.

The Hon. Gentleman [Gen. Burgoyne] has given us a good deal of the ancient Roman hiſtory, but overlooked two or three important queſtions relating to very modern tranſactions, and our own hiſtory. I wiſh, Sir, an anſwer to the charge I have repeatedly read, of the burning of villages and houſes, and the wanton deſtruction and devaſtation of property, during the progreſs of the northern army under his command.

One word, Sir, before I ſit down, on what is ſtated by the Hon. Gentleman, as an event in the Roman hiſtory ſimilar to the affair at Saratoga. A conſiderable Roman army was ſhut up by the Samnites at the *furcæ Caudinæ*, obliged to capitulate, and with their general to paſs under the yoke. So far is it retailed out to us, but the ſequel of the tranſaction is not mentioned. I ſhall give it briefly to the Houſe. Early in the following year, the dictator Cornelius Lentulus

put

put himſelf at the head of the ſame Roman legions, and gave the Samnites a total overthrow. It was no article of the capitulation at Caudium, that the ſame troops ſhould not ſerve again againſt the ſame enemy. The Samnite general, Pontius, was the very next year after the affair of the Caudine Forks, with the whole Samnite army, forced by the Romans to paſs under the yoke, unarmed, with only one garment each, that the former ignominy might be retaliated by the ſame troops on the ſame enemy. The Roman ſpirit ſoon made a conqueſt of the whole country of the Samnites, and afterwards of all Italy, and the world.

Lord George Gordon reprobated the American war in the warmeſt terms, applauded the reſiſtance of the coloniſts, charged our governors in church and ſtate with being bloody and oppreſſive, that the high prelates countenanced his Majeſty in employing ſavages, excepting however the Biſhops of Peterborough and St Aſaph, and joined Mr Fox in inſiſting for an inquiry, in compliance with the wiſhes of the unfortunate general.

On the queſtion put, the numbers were, For the amendment 95, Againſt it 144.

The original queſtion was now reſumed with redoubled ardour.

Mr Temple Luttrell juſtified the conduct of the general; ſaid he had been brave, though unfortunate; but that was a ſufficient ground for accuſation in the eyes of ſome; had he turned his back, inſtead of going forward, he would have met with a different reception from the Noble Lord whoſe military conduct was certainly the reverſe of the gallant officer's they were about to inquire into, whoſe diſgrace at the court of George II. was founded on the moſt deciſive cenſure of a court-martial [22. 187.]; whoſe loſs of the nation's confidence, and his own character, is a public record.

Ld G. Germaine ſaid, that he never was perſonal in the Houſe, never by any conduct of his merited ſuch an attack; he deſpiſed that Hon. member, but would level himſelf with his wretched character and malice; old as he was he would meet that fighting gentleman, and be revenged.

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put himſelf at the head of the ſame Roman legions, and gave the Samnites a total overthrow. It was no article of the capitulation at Caudium, that the ſame troops ſhould not ſerve again againſt the ſame enemy. The Samnite general, Pontius, was the very next year after the affair of the Caudine Forks, with the whole Samnite army, forced by the Romans to paſs under the yoke, unarmed, with only one garment each, that the former ignominy might be retaliated by the ſame troops on the ſame enemy. The Roman ſpirit ſoon made a conqueſt of the whole country of the Samnites, and afterwards of all Italy, and the world.

Lord George Gordon reprobated the American war in the warmeſt terms, applauded the reſiſtance of the coloniſts, charged our governors in church and ſtate with being bloody and oppreſſive, that the high prelates countenanced his Majeſty in employing ſavages, excepting however the Biſhops of Peterborough and St Aſaph, and joined Mr Fox in inſiſting for an inquiry, in compliance with the wiſhes of the unfortunate general.

On the queſtion put, the numbers were, For the amendment 95, Againſt it 144.

The original queſtion was now reſumed with redoubled ardour.

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to ſend them back. This I did; and ſhould have returned to the army if the communication had not been totally ſhut up. After this of what ſervice could I be? I whom you repreſent as unqualified for any office, and only one among the departed ſavages? Alas, Sir, having ceaſed to be a general, do not ceaſe to be a gentleman: I am the ſame with you: you have the title of General; and tho' I may not be endowed with the ſame talents with yourſelf, yet being made of the ſame ſtuff, have a right to be treated like a gentleman.

As to the reſt, Sir, I am ready to croſs the ſea, though at an advanced age, to juſtify myſelf before the king my maſter, and my country, from all the falſities which have been laid to my charge; but it is very indifferent to me what you you think of me ——I am, Sir, your very humble ſervant, La Corne de St Luc.

Gen. Burgoyne.

REMARKABLE LAW-CASES.

Wilsone againſt Maclean.

IN April 1771, John Wilſone, ironmonger in Glaſgow, for himſelf, and as truſtee for Mrs Sword ſhopkeeper, and David Girdwood wright, in that city, brought a proceſs, before the Admiral of Glaſgow, againſt Archibald Maclean of Laggan-Ulva, in the iſland of Mull, for certain furniſhings made by Mr Wilſone, Mrs Sword, and Mr Girdwood, to Mr Maclean, amounting in whole to about 40 l. Sterling. The articles in the accounts purſued for, were purchaſed by a Mr Menelaws, who had a commiſſion from Mr Maclean, having been employed to build a houſe for him in Mull in the year 1769.

Mr Maclean defended himſelf, by inſiſting, that he never dealt with Mr Wilſone, or any of his conſtituents; and poſitively denied his having bought, or received, any of the articles purſued for, or that Mr Menelaws had any commiſſion or mandate from him to that effect.

Various proceedings were had before the Admiral; in the courſe of which, a number of letters, accounts, and other papers were produced.

On the 11th of February 1772, the Admiral, after conſidering a condeſcendence for the purſuer, condeſcendence and additional condeſcendence for the defender, pronounced a very ſpecial interlocutor, ordaining him ſtill to give in a particular condeſcendence of all and every article of goods furniſhed to him, of all or any of the kinds mentioned in the accounts libelled on, and of the perſon or perſons who were the original furniſhers; whether he received any invoice before or after getting theſe goods; or how far, and at what times, he paid any or all of theſe articles in particular, and to whom, &c.

In obedience to this interlocutor, the defender, on the 24th of the ſame month, gave in another condeſcendence: but it proving equally unſatisfactory with any of the former, the Admiral, on the 6th April, renewed the order more ſpecially; and, in particular, ordained him to give in a ſigned liſt of all the grates or chimnies, locks, hinges, &c. uſed in his new houſe, and to produce any accounts or letters he has from the furniſhers.

On the 20th of the ſame month, the purſuer having got notice, that one George Maclean, a wright in Mull, and who had been employed by the defender in finiſhing his houſe, was then in Glaſgow, he applied to the Admiral to have him examined; which being accordingly done, he deponed, in ſubſtance, that the ſpecific articles libelled on were in the defender's houſe during the courſe of his finiſhing the wright-work of the ſame; but from whom they were got, he could not tell.

Several other ſteps were taken after this period; and the Admiral, on the 13th July 1773, pronouuced a very long interlocutor, decerning in terms of the libel, and finding the defender liable in 5 l. of expences, with the expence of extract.

Againſt this judgement, an elaborate petition was given in for the defender; along with which were produced ſeveral letters and accounts; and of this number was one, dated, Sound of Ulva, 4th January 1771, bearing to be diſcharged by John White, maſter of the Happy Return wherry of Tarbert, and containing almoſt all the various articles mentioned in the purſuer and his conſtituents accounts, as furniſhed by them to the defender.

The Admiral, however, had no opportunity of reviewing his interlocutor in conſequence of this petition and theſe exhibits, the defender having immediately removed the cauſe, by advocation, into the court of ſeſſion: but what is very remarkable, White's diſcharged account

account is never once mentioned in the bill of advocation, nor even in the petition to the Admiral, the words *John Whits* being only there inſerted along with a number of other names from whom he produces accounts.—We have been the more particular with regard to the proceedings before the Admiral, becauſe, upon theſe, in a great meaſure, we apprehend, the cauſe was determined.

When this account of John White's was firſt produced before the Lord Ordinary, the purſuer entertained great ſuſpicions of its being falſe and fabricated. He therefore ſet about inquiries concerning the ſuppoſed writer of it; and received information, that he was drowned the latter end of harveſt 1770. To this ſeveral witneſſes deponed. The defender, on the other hand, in order to ſupport this account, produced at different times many writings, ſome ſaid to be holograph of John White, others to have his ſubſcription adhibited to them, and all of them bearing to be wrote in the 1771. To the truth of this, likewiſe, a vaſt number of witneſſes deponed. In this contrariety of evidence, it became difficult to determine the fact. Proofs upon proofs were allowed upon different branches of the cauſe, in the Highlands, in the Iſlands, in different parts of Scotland, and oftener than once on commiſſion in Ireland. Witneſſes were examined and re-examined before the ſheriff of Edinburgh, the Lord Ordinary, and in preſence of the whole court. A cauſe, in ſhort, which, at its original inſtitution, was for ſo trifling a ſum, and ſeemed of ſuch eaſy diſcuſſion, became at once expenſive almoſt beyond example, involved one of the parties in the deepeſt of crimes, and, but for providential circumſtances, might have been rendered altogether inextricable.

It would be endleſs to mention all the proceedings before the court of ſeſſion in this extraordinary cauſe. Suffice it to ſay, that in the month of September 1777, very long memorials for both parties, upon the whole proofs, were printed, and given in to the Lords; and, in the beginning of the ſubſequent ſeſſion, a hearing was appointed. This continued for many days. The counſel were, for the purſuer, Meſſ. Andrew Croſbie, John Maclaurin, and Alexander Abercrombie; and for the defender, Meſſ. David Rae, George Buchan-Hepburn, and Robert Blair.

On the 18th of December 1777, the Lords proceeded to deliver their opinions; which they did in the following order; Lords Braxfield, Kennet, Auchinleck, and Gardenſton, ſpoke that day; and the day following, Lords Elliock, Kames, Juſtice-Clerk, Hailes, Monboddo, Weſthall, and the Lord Preſident. All their Lordſhips, except Lord Monboddo, expreſſed themſelves perfectly convinced from the proof, that John White was not alive in the 1771; conſequently, that the account founded upon by the defender, and all the other exhibits produced by him in ſupport of it, were falſe and fabricated. Several of their Lordſhips expreſſed the higheſt deteſtation at the conduct of the defender during the courſe of the proceſs, particularly with regard to the falſehoods he emitted when judicially examined before them; the procuring of falſe certificates, and uſing them knowing they were ſuch; and the procuring of letters to aſcertain a falſe date, as to the death of John White, as to which the people who granted them, upon recollection, and being put upon oath, acknowledged they were impoſed upon by the defender. The conduct of the purſuer, on the other hand, was declared, in every ſtep of the cauſe, to be perfectly fair and unexceptionable.—The court, Dec. 19. 1777, pronounced the following interlocutor.

"The Lords having adviſed this proceſs, teſtimonies of the witneſſes adduced, writs produced, memorials *hinc inde*, with the whole papers and proceedings in the cauſe; and having heard parties procurators thereon; find the account produced by the defender, as due by him to John White, maſter of the Happy Return wherry of Tarbert, bearing date the 4th day of January 1771, with the ſaid John White his receipt or diſcharge of the payment thereof, annexed thereto, not probative; therefore repel the defence founded on ſaid account and receipt or diſcharge; and repel alſo the defender's whole other defences; and find the defender liable to the purſuer in payment of the ſum of forty pounds five ſhillings and one halfpenny Sterling, contained in the three accounts libelled on; and of the intereſt thereof, from the expiration of twelve months after the reſpective dates of the furniſhings, until payment thereof; and decern: Find the defender liable alſo in

full expences of proceſs, of which ordain an account to be given in by the purſuer, to be in the boxes on the firſt day of January next, and the defender to give in his objections thereto, alſo to be in the boxes, on the 13th of ſaid month. Further, in regard that, in the courſe of this proceſs, circumſtances have appeared in the conduct of the defender, and in the behaviour of certain of the witneſſes, highly improper and unjuſtifiable, the Lords declare they will reſume conſideration thereof, when the account of expences ſhall come to be adviſed. And the Lords continue the order on the defender, to fiſt himſelf perſonally at the bar of this court at adviſing ſaid account of expences, and at all other diets of this cauſe, with certification; and diſcharge the order formerly made on the purſuer for his perſonal appearance."

Lords Alva and Covington were not preſent upon this occaſion, owing to indiſpoſition; Lords Stonefield and Ankerville did not deliver any opinion, but voted on the ſide of the purſuer: ſo that there was a majority of their Lordſhips of twelve to one.

An account of the purſuer's expences was accordingly given in, amounting to L.1762: 14: 4: 2 12ths Sterling. But an appeal was taken for the defender: this notwithſtanding, the purſuer's account of expences was determined by arbitration; ſo that nothing remained for the court to determine, but the conſideration of the conduct of the defender, and ſome of the witneſſes.

As the account of expences had been given in, but no objections offered, a motion was made from the chair, June 27. to call the cauſe, in order to know the reaſon of the delay. The counſel for the defender told that an appeal had been taken; and none of the purſuer's counſel happening to be preſent, the cauſe was delayed.——It was reſumed on the 8th of July. Lord Covington ſaid, that had he been preſent when the cauſe was adviſed, he would have oppoſed the judgement given *totis viribus*: but ſince judgement had been pronounced, finding, in effect, that a multitude of forgeries and perjuries had been committed, he thought they ſhould proceed to inflict puniſhment: That an appeal, indeed, had been taken; but that he was informed Maclean had entered into a ſubmiſſion, virtually admitting the juſtice of the judgement againſt him, and referring to an arbiter only how much he ſhould pay in name of expences. This his Lordſhip conſidered to be paſſing from the appeal, ſo that it could not prevent the court from proceeding.——The Lords Juſtice-Clerk, Alva, Hailes, and Braxfield, oppoſed this opinion, and maintained, that the court could not proceed until the appeal was either diſmiſſed by the Houſe of Lords, or allowed by that Moſt Honourable Houſe to be withdrawn. Lord Hailes obſerved, that it was very delicate ground, and that he did not wiſh their Lordſhips to be called up to London. None of the Lords being of Lord Covington's opinion, the court declined taking any cogniſance of the cauſe while the appeal pended.

A writer in a late news-paper ſays, that his curioſity was raiſed laſt ſummer, on being informed, that the judges were to take under conſideration the ſtigma proper to be inflicted on a perſon, who, by his moſt unwarrantable conduct in defending a very tedious and expenſive ſuit, had made it neceſſary for the public good, that he ſhould be held forth as an example to deter others from committing the like crimes. "How much then (ſaid he) was my indignation roufed, when, upon calling the cauſe, I found the juſtice due to the public, evaded, and the court, in a manner, laughed at by a perfect quibble; for in no other light could the intimation of a writ of appeal be viewed, which was never meant to be called, or a ſingle ſtep intended to be taken to diſcuſs it. The judges ſaw, indeed, very clearly, that this was the caſe: but how were they to help themſelves? I muſt ſay, I was of opinion, with the worthy ſenator, who ſaid, that he thought the appeal paſſed from, by the defender's having entered into a ſubmiſſion, on which a decreet-arbitral paſſed, aſcertaining the expences, and in which the parties had acquieſced."

He then tranſcribes from Lord Kames's Statute Law of Scotland abridged, App. p. 450. an order of the Houſe of Peers, of April 5. 1720, intitled, *Appeals not anſwered, to ſtand diſmiſſed*, viz. "Ordered, That ſuch appeals as have been preſented during this ſeſſion, to which no anſwers have been, or ſhall be, put in during this ſeſſion; and all ſuch appeals as ſhall be preſented in any ſubſequent ſeſſion, to which no anſwers ſhall be put in during the ſame ſeſſion; if neither the appellant, within eight

eight days, to be accounted from and after the firſt day of the next ſeſſion, or meeting of parliament, ſhall apply to this Houſe to appoint a peremptory day to anſwer, nor the reſpondent put in an anſwer within the ſaid eight days, ſuch appeals ſhall ſtand diſmiſſed; but without prejudice to the appellant's preſenting any new appeals thereafter, as they ſhall be adviſed."

The writer thinks, that this order may not have occurred to thoſe who ſeemed to wiſh the appeal out of the way; and as the defender's writ of appeal ſtands diſmiſſed, he preſumes the court are now at liberty to reſume the conſideration of the ſtigma reſerved in their interlocutor of Dec. 20. 1777, againſt the defender and certain witneſſes.

Edinburgh Cause.

OUR readers will remember, that a motion was made in the town-council of Edinburgh, Feb. 19. 1777, by Provoſt Stodart, "That an application be made to the Convention of Royal Boroughs, to alter that part of the ſet of the borough, reſpecting the election of deacons, which gives the council a power to ſhorten the leets; and to declare, that each incorporation ſhall be at liberty to elect a deacon yearly, in time coming, without being ſubjected to any reſtraint by having their leets ſhortened by the council;"— that this motion was carried in the council, ten of the ordinary council and the eight extraordinary deacons voting for it, and thirteen of the ordinary council voting againſt it; — that a proteſt was taken againſt admitting the votes of the extraordinary deacons; — and that a bill of ſuſpenſion was applied for, and paſſed [39. 563,4].

The ſuſpenſion having come to be diſcuſſed before the Lord Alva Ordinary, his Lordſhip, Aug. 8. 1777, ordered informations; which were accordingly lodged; that for the council having been drawn by Mr Maclaurin, and that for the trades by the Lord Advocate: and the court, Jan. 29. 1778, "ſuſtained the reaſons of ſuſpenſion, ſuſpended the letters *ſimpliciter*, and decerned.— A reclaiming petition for the trades, drawn by Mr Croſbie, and dated Feb. 12. 1778, and anſwers for the council, drawn by Mr Maclaurin, and dated March 3. were given in; and the court, Aug. 7. unanimouſly refuſed the deſire of the petition, adhered to their former judgement, and condemned in ſevere terms the attempt made to alter the ſet of the city.

The papers for the council were in the name of *The Right Honourable John Dalrymple, Lord Provoſt of the city of Edinburgh, and others;* and thoſe for the trades were in the name of *James Stodart, Eſq; Old Provoſt of Edinburgh, James Stirling, Eſq; one of the preſent Bailies of Edinburgh, and others.*

From theſe papers we learn, that the town-council of Edinburgh conſiſted originally of the magiſtrates and merchants of the guildry; — that the firſt time the trades, or crafts, claimed a repreſentation in the council, was in 1508; in which year they petitioned the council, that ſix or eight of their number might be admitted to ſit at the board, and be declared capable of being elected bailies and other officers; and received for anſwer, that the council "would mack na alteratioun nor innovatioun thairupon but advyce of the King's Heeneſs and his Parliment;"— that though it do not appear at what time the trades firſt obtained a repreſentation in council, it is certain, that they were repreſented there before 1582; for in that year diſputes having come to a great height between the merchants and trades, they agreed to have their differences determined by arbitration, and a ſubmiſſion was entered into to certain arbiters, and K. James VI. as overſman; who pronounced a decreet arbitral, of date April 22. 1583, which was afterwards ratified in parliament, and is denominated *the ſet* [25. 378.]; — that this decreet directed, that the council ſhould, before the election of deacons, call in before them the deacons of crafts, each ſeverally, and inquire their opinion of the beſt and worthieſt of their crafts; and then leet three perſons the beſt qualified of each craft, of whom the old deacon to be one, and deliver their names to the deacons reſpectively; that each craft ſhould convene next morning, chuſe one of the three to be their deacon, and next council day preſent him to the council; who ſhould authoriſe them in their offices; and from the fourteen deacons the council ſhould chuſe ſix, to be adjoined with the ordinary council; that the old manner of giving in tickets by the deacons, out of whom two craftſmen ſhould be choſen, ſhould be abrogated, and that the two craftſmen ſhould be choſen yearly by the council, indifferently, of the worthieſt of the

crafts;—that it is uncertain how matters ſtood when the ſubmiſſion was entered into, but probably the trades choſe their own deacons; for (ſay the trades) it is evident, that ſome alterations were made by the decreet to the prejudice of the trades, and in favour of the merchant-council, and that the power was thrown in a good meaſure into the hands of the latter as to the election both of deacons and trades-counſellors; that the mode in which this was executed as to the election of deacons was, that each trade gave in to the council a leet of ſix, out of which the council returned three; that though this was underſtood to be the meaning of the decreet-arbitral, the merchant-council ſoon fell upon devices to elude it, pretending, that they were bound by the decreet only to aſk the opinion and advice of the trades with regard to the worthineſs of their members, but were not obliged to follow that advice, and therefore returned ſhort leets of perſons who were not upon the long leets; that in 1683 an act of council was obtained, directing the council to return to the trades three of their own ſix, out of whom the trades ſhould chuſe one to be their deacon, which act was confirmed by the court of ſeſſion in 1684, upon a declarator raiſed by the trades; and the trades alledged, that this privilege was given them, for quitting their right at the time of the decreet-arbitral, that one of the four bailies ſhould be a tradeſman;—and that in 1725 counter declarators were raiſed: one by the merchants, for ſetting aſide the decree 1683, and impowering them to give the trades a leet of three without receiving a long leet from them; and one by the trades, for confirming the decree 1684, and for declaring ſome additional privileges in their favour; and thoſe proceſſes ended in a ſubmiſſion to the Earl of Ilay in 1729. [25. 357.].

The reaſons of ſuſpenſion were theſe: 1. That any application for altering the ſet was barred by the ſuſpenſion 1763; 2. That it was *ultra vires* of the town-council to take any ſtep for altering the ſet; 3. That the act in queſtion was not in reality an act of the town-council, the majority of the ordinary council having declared againſt it, and the queſtion having been carried by the extraordinary deacons, who had no title to vote in it; and, 4. That it was not competent for the Convention of Royal Boroughs to make the alteration propoſed.

The reaſons of ſuſpenſion of the act of council 1763, were theſe: 1. That there were not thirteen of the ordinary council preſent at paſſing the act, which by Lord Ilay's decree is declared to be the quorum, there having been preſent only ten of the ordinary council, and the eight extraordinary deacons; 2. That the deacons could be conſidered in no other view than parties; and, 3. That the town-council could make no act for altering the ſet of the borough, that being competent to the legiſlature only.

At a meeting of council, July 6. 1763, immediately after the ſuſpenſion was paſſed, one of the bailies concerned in making the ſuſpended act, repreſented, "That, out of obedience and duty to the court of ſeſſion, he did not conſider the council at liberty to take any ſteps at this meeting towards carrying into execution the reſolution laſt made; but moved, That they would approve the alteration propoſed, and take all neceſſary ſteps for carrying the ſame into execution, as ſoon as they ſhould be at liberty, by judgement of the court of ſeſſion, to proceed." Which reſolution was agreed to, and an act made in terms of it.

The council argued, That not only the ſuſpenſion in 1763, but likewiſe this act of council paſſed in conſequence of it, barred the trades from taking any ſteps towards an alteration of the ſet till the ſuſpenſion ſhould be diſcuſſed. It was anſwered, That the chargers were no parties to the ſuſpenſion 1763; nor would it ſerve any purpoſe to diſcuſs that ſuſpenſion, becauſe a judgement given in it would be no *res judicata* to the preſent queſtion. By the act 1763, the council made an alteration of the ſet by their own authority without applying to the convention of Boroughs, only ſuſpending the execution till the act ſhould be approved of by the convention; this was aſſuming an authority which was never underſtood to reſide in the council, but in the convention; whereas the act in queſtion is only a reſolution to apply to the convention, to cognoſce upon the expediency of a particular alteration, and to make it if they ſaw cauſe.

To the ſecond reaſon of ſuſpenſion, viz. the impropriety and incompetency of the council's attempting to alter the ſet, the ſuſpenders ſay, no anſwer has, nor

nor (they ſuppoſe) ever will be given. If the trades (ſay they) thought themſelves aggrieved, they ought, as parties, to have applied for an alteration in a proper manner, by laying the ſuppoſed inconvenience before the different bodies having intereſt, with the reaſons for the alteration: if theſe were ſatisfied, the propoſed alteration might be accompliſhed by arbitration, as was done in 1583 and 1729; if they oppoſed the alteration, the trades might apply to parliament, or otherwiſe. If the town-council can alter the ſet, there is an end at once of the conſtitution: for the council is compoſed of two ſets of men, the merchants and crafts, whoſe intereſts are oppoſite; and if ſuch petitions were competent, the conſtitution would be conſtantly expoſed to a fundamental ſubverſion, as the one or the other of theſe bodies had the greateſt ſway in council.

On the third reaſon of ſuſpenſion, the queſtion's having been carried by the votes of the extraordinary deacons, the ſuſpenders, beſides the legal excluſion of thoſe votes, argued, That the trades had too great weight in the council: for that the guildry pay four fifths, and the trades but one fifth, of the public burdens. In anſwer to this, the trades ſtate what follows from the ceſs-roll.

The whole ceſs impoſed by the ſtent-maſters, from March 25. 1777 to March 25. 1778 is L. 2787:2:7:2. —— Of which there is paid,

By the fourteen incorporated trades, as heritors of lands within the city, excluſive of heirs and repreſentatives of deceaſed members, about	L.	402	0	0 0
By the members of the merchant-company, including the repreſentatives of thoſe that are deceaſed, and thoſe who have long ſince given up all concern in trade		216	3	2 2
By thoſe who are denominated merchants, or members of the guildry, but are not members of the merchant-company, in which are included vintners, ſtablers, cadies, chairmen, porters, &c. - -		418	3	11 2
By the other inhabitants, who come under none of theſe denominations, ſuch as members of the college of juſtice, &c. -		1750	15	5 2

To this the council reply, That as far back as 1583, the merchants paid four fifths of the ſtent, or public burdens; for ſo it is expreſſed in James VI.'s decree; and that the diſtinction attempted to be made between the merchants and the guildry is without foundation; for every guild-brother who is not a member of an incorporation, is capable of being elected a magiſtrate or counſellor.

The argument on the fourth reaſon of ſuſpenſion, the powers of the convention of Royal Boroughs, is very long. The eldeſt records of the convention that are extant, bear date April 4. 1552; in which the convention lays down a general rule for electing magiſtrates in all boroughs. The trades give ſeveral inſtances of the convention's exerciſing the powers of giving ſets to boroughs, and making alterations in ſets. But the council contend, that it is only upon a ſubmiſſion that the convention alter ſets; that an eſtabliſhed ſet cannot be altered without the conſent of all concerned; and that the power of altering ſets is competent only to the parliament: adding, that the proceedings of the convention are reviewable by the court of ſeſſion; ſo that the new-modelling or altering ſets, if competent to the convention, would ultimately be lodged with that court.

CAMPBELL againſt SCOTLAND.

OUR readers will remember, that at laſt general election political ſquabbles ran high at Dunfermline, Lt-Col. Archibald Campbell having ſet up in oppoſition to Col. Maſterton; that Mr Robert Scotland, merchant in that borough, was an avowed agent of Col. Campbell [36. 620.]; that Mr Scotland's pariſh-miniſter accuſed him from the pulpit of acting unfaithfully to Col. Campbell, which produced an altercation in the face of the congregation [36. 620.]; and that, on a proſecution, the miniſter was found liable in damages and expences, and ſeverely blamed for impropriety of conduct [38. 507.].

An action has ſince been brought by the truſtees of Col. Campbell, who is himſelf in America, againſt Mr Scotland, to account for no leſs a ſum than 2872 l. Sterling, which it was alledged had been put into his hands as political agent for the Colonel. Mr Scotland defended himſelf by averring, That his employment was illicit: That their Lordſhips muſt

muſt be ſatisfied, that the purpoſe for which the money was put into his hands, was to diſtribute it among the members of the corporation and council, to attach them to Col. Campbell's intereſt; and that, therefore, no action at law could be maintained in this caſe; as had been found both in Scotland and England as to other unlawful contracts, ſuch as thoſe of ſmugglers: And beſides, that the very nature of the employment rendered it impoſſible to give an account of the application of the money; becauſe it would involve many poor people in accuſations of bribery, and perjury too, as they had ſworn they did not receive money. It was anſwered for Col. Campbell, That this allegation of a *turpe factum*, or baſe agreement, was ſupported by no evidence but the word of Mr Scotland, who had the aſſurance to come into court, and *turpify* himſelf, with the view of being allowed to retain the Colonel's money in his pocket; for the Colonel denied that he had ever given him the leaſt authority or encouragement to bribe: That a crime was not to be preſumed; and that there were certainly many fair and lawful methods of laying out money upon a canvas for a ſeat in parliament: That therefore Mr Scotland, from whom letters were produced, acknowledging that he had accounts, ſhould be ordained to produce them, that being of itſelf very good evidence, that he underſtood, all along, that he was bound to ſatisfy his conſtituent as to the expenditure of the money: That Mr Scotland was to retain 800l. as a premium for his own trouble; but that, inſtead of acting with fidelity, he had been gained over to the other ſide, and had actually done all in his power to hurt Col. Campbell's intereſt; but in vain: That this ſum, at leaſt, ſhould certainly be reſtored; and that, in ſhort, Mr Scotland ſhould be obliged to lodge a regular ſtate of his accounts, like any other agent.

The cauſe was moſt ingeniouſly pleaded by Meſſ. Campbell, Maclaurin, and Boſwell, for Col. Campbell, and by Meſſ. Rae and Macleod, for Mr Scotland; and on the 28th of November laſt, the Lords delivered their opinions at conſiderable length. All except Lord Hailes were for diſmiſſing the action. Lord Braxfield ſtated his opinion in a very ſtrong and conciſe manner, upon this ground, That here was a ſum of money alledged to be put into the defender's hands, but of which there was no evidence, except the defender's acknowledgement, which acknowledgement muſt be taken preciſely as made by him, viz. that it was all ſpent in his employer's ſervice. Two of the Lords warmly inſiſted for having a ſtigma inſerted in the interlocutor againſt both parties in the cauſe, as being both engaged in bribery and corruption. Upon which Mr Hay Campbell declared, that upon the part of his client, he had no objection that the court ſhould recommend it to his Majeſty's Advocate, to inquire into the conduct of both parties, as to this alledged bribery, being confident that Col. Campbell did neither give bribes himſelf, or the leaſt authority to any other perſon ſo to do.

But it having been conſidered, that there was no evidence whatever againſt Col. Campbell, thoſe two Lords ſtood alone, upon a vote being put, Whether any cenſure of the Colonel ſhould be expreſſed in the judgement?

It was then moved, That their Lordſhips could not poſſibly diſmiſs Mr Scotland without reprehenſion, as he had himſelf avowed in court, that he was guilty of bribery; the conſideration of which was deferred.

The cauſe was reſumed on the 1ſt of December.—Lord Auchinleck ſpoke very warmly againſt Scotland; ſaying, it was melancholy to ſee to what a paſs this country was now brought, by bribery being practiſed ſo commonly; that Scotland had told the court, very fairly, very uprightly, that he was employed to bribe, and did bribe; that it would be a terrible thing, if the country ſhould ſee, that a man might be guilty of bribery, and paſs without cenſure; and that if their Lordſhips ſhould let this man eſcape, the court would be art and part in bribery. Other Lords ſpoke upon different topics:—That the confeſſion of Scotland's lawyers was not equivalent to the confeſſion of Scotland himſelf: That although the averment of bribery was ſufficient to aſſoilzie him in a civil action, it was not enough to condemn him in a criminal proceſs: That as Col. Campbell was not to be cenſured, neither ſhould Scotland; for his averment, which accuſed the Colonel as well as himſelf, could not be divided.—The reſult was, that Robert Scotland was aſſoilzied *ſimpliciter*.

H1.

HISTORICAL AFFAIRS.

A ſpeech of the King of Sweden, on opening the Diet. Delivered at Stockholm on the 6th of November.

Nobles, and Fellow-Citizens,

WHen we laſt parted, I engaged to reaſſemble you at the expiration of ſix years [34. 505.]. That period is arrived; and beſides the extreme ſatisfaction I ſhall always receive in ſeeing my affectionate ſubjects ſurround the throne, I experience a heart-felt pleaſure in now meeting you, without being reduced to the diſagreeable neceſſity of requiring from you any ſupplies for the exigencies of the ſtate. The public expences, it is true, have been great, and our neceſſities have been urgent; but by an œconomical arrangement of the public finances, I have been enabled to place the kingdom in the moſt defencible ſtate, and to reſtore the ancient ſplendour of our country.

The reflection of a moment will recal to your minds the exact ſituation of public affairs at the time when you were pleaſed to intruſt the adminiſtration ſolely to my care. By the accounts which I have ordered to be laid before you, you will eaſily be enabled to determine, whether I have been ſucceſsful in my endeavours to reſtore good order to every department of the ſtate. That firmneſs and vigour which have hitherto ſo conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſhed our councils, and a ſteady adherence to our alliances, have diſpelled the gathering cloulds of war which threatened to burſt on the kingdom; and I now meet you, my Nobles, in the full confidence of peace, at a time too when ſome of the powers of Europe are actually engaged in war, and others are preparing for the ſame event. I have been ſcrupulous in adhering to the letter and ſpirit of thoſe conventions long ago entered into with thoſe powers which may be conſidered as the natural allies of Sweden. I have found a zealous, a tried, and an unſhaken friend in a princeſs *, who, connected with my family by the ties of blood, is juſtly intitled to the admiration of her contemporaries; and the ſplendour of her actions will ſecure to her the veneration of poſterity.

I preſume not to ſay, that the tranquillity and the happineſs we enjoy, are to be aſcribed ſolely to my adminiſtration; you, my Nobles, and your Fellow-Citizens at large, have mutually contributed to the felicity of the ſtate, by your ſingular unanimity, by your veneration for the laws, and by your willing obedience to thoſe inſtitutes which I preſcribed, as the guardian of your welfare, and of the proſperity of our common country. It is the pleaſure deareſt to my heart, to perceive, that Sweden now affords an illuſtrious example to other ſtates. Her civil diſſenſions are no more. If I have been inſtrumental in re-eſtabliſhing our reputation abroad, I have not been leſs anxiouſly ſolicitous to improve our ſituation at home. The reſtoration of juſtice hath been my primary object; and I have endeavoured ſo properly to temper it with mercy, that the rigours of it might be ſoftened. Where the ancient tribunals appeared inſufficient, new ones have been erected. The adminiſtration of theſe tribunals has been narrowly watched, and every deviation from the ſpirit of the laws has been cenſured firſt, and then corrected.

OEconomy in the public finances has been rigidly attended to: the too extenſive diſtricts of government have been curtailed; the ſalaries of governors have been retrenched; the ſeveral eſtabliſhments in the department of finances have undergone a thorough reform. Nor have inferior objects paſſed unnoticed: for the more ſpeedy communication of the ſeveral parts of the kingdom, the old canals have been repaired, new ones have been opened, and others ſtill more convenient have been planned.

Agriculture has received conſiderable improvement; and Providence, as if ſmiling propitious on our efforts, hath amply compenſated for the ſcarcity we formerly experienced. Such abundant, ſuch luxuriant crops as we have reaped of late years, are almoſt unexampled in the bleſſing of Heaven.

By the reports of your deputies which they will lay before you, you will with pleaſure perceive the attention which has been paid to the ſeveral branches of œconomics. I claim not ſingly any merit on this account; the officers to whom I intruſted the management of ſuch concerns, for the wiſdom of their deliberations, and for their unwearied aſſiduity in the public ſervice, have a claim on the gratitude of their fellow-citizens,

* Empreſs of Ruſſia.

citizens, and they are intitled to the thanks of future generations.

To the ſtate of our land and ſea forces conſiderable attention has alſo been paid; and you will find that conſiderable improvements have been made in each of thoſe departments. If every miſtake has not been corrected; if every deficiency has not been ſupplied; if, notwithſtanding all that has been done, there yet remain many things which are left undone: remember, my friends, that kings are but men; and that the wounds given by time, require a longer period than we have yet had before they can be effectually healed.

You have perceived an addition to my royal houſe of a princeſs * who reflects the brighteſt ornament on my line; who is a deſcendent, like myſelf, of the great Guſtavus Vaſa; and who, although not a Swede by birth, yet has ſhe renewed that tie of affection which hath ever ſubſiſted between me and a brother dear to my heart for his numerous virtues. His extreme attachment to my intereſt, his affection for my perſon, and above all his genuine love of his country, theſe are qualities which have frequently contributed to ſoften my cares, to remove the thorny pillow on which kings repoſe, and to render the burden of government more eaſily ſuſtained. The brother of whom I ſpeak, in the midſt of changes, continued ever the ſame. No motive could ſeduce, no dangers terrify, no intereſt warp him from that line of duty which had for its objects the tranquillity and happineſs of his country. From the tender bud of infancy, our affections clung together as they ſhot forth into riper manhood. Never did this brother violate a confidence once repoſed in him. To a breach of friendſhip his heart was a ſtranger. Theſe ſentiments, my friends, you have no doubt traced in my actions; my conduct has uniformly diſplayed them: but I could not omit this opportunity of thus pouring into your boſoms the ſtream of my fraternal affection.

The kingdom, my Nobles, enjoys at this moment the bleſſing of internal quietude. From the centre to the extremity, from the capital to the frontiers, all is peace. The hand of the Moſt High is ſtretched forth in our ſupport. That unſeen hand hath often reſcued us from imminent dangers, and it appears to be now employed in giving ſtability to our throne. You, my friends, are no ſtrangers to my ſentiments. Scorning duplicity, I have unboſomed myſelf as became a prince who wiſhes only to preſerve the empire of affection, and to reign — in your hearts. Born a Swede, I loved the country which gave me birth. Favourable impreſſions of a people who ſeated my anceſtors on the throne, were happily made on my mind during the tendereſt years of infancy. From the moment in which the Great Diſpoſer of Events thought fit to ſeat me on the throne of my anceſtors, one only object has ingroſſed my attention; I have only been anxious to convince you, that I love my people as I ſhould the offſpring of my body. They are dear as children to me, and as a father I will cheriſh them. Conſidering myſelf not merely as a king, but as a citizen, the tie of affection for my people is cloſer drawn; I feel the weight of a two-fold duty; and how is that feeling augmented by the conſideration that I ſhall ſoon toil as a father for the hereditary dominions of my child? Yes, my Nobles, Countrymen, and Friends, a few days, I truſt, will give me the power of delivering into your hands the infant whom Providence is about to grant me [628.]. Your arms will be open to cheriſh what I ſhall moſt gladly commit to your protection. The child given for the comfort of my declining years will, I truſt in God, prove the ſupporter of my throne. And to whom could I ſo properly conſign this tender pledge of connubial affection, as to you the repreſentatives of the Swediſh nation? If the deſcendent of my loins ſhould prove female, her very ſex will recommend her to our tendereſt care. Should it be the pleaſure of Heaven to grant me a ſon, forget not, as you ſend him to the altar, to aid the ſacred influences of religion, by impreſſing on his mind a thorough ſenſe of thoſe relative duties which will bind you to each other. Join, O join with me, my Nobles, in imploring Heaven for a bleſſing on my child! If I be deſerving of your love, if I have merited any gratitude from your hands, let that love and that gratitude be ſhewn to my child during the continuance of my reign. Transfer your kindneſs from the parent to the offſpring. May the infant for whom I am now pleading, prove worthy hereafter to wield the ſceptre of Guſtavus

* The Ducheſs of Sudermania. [36, 391.]

Guſtavus Adolphus! But if a ſon of mine were ever to loſe ſight of thoſe precious obligations which reſult from the dignity of his birth; if he were to forget, that the firſt duty of a Swediſh king is to love and to honour a free people; were he to deviate from the paths marked out by the greateſt princes who have filled this throne, then would I eſteem it a kindneſs in Heaven to take back the unworthy gift, however joyed as a king I might be to receive, or however reluctant as a parent I might be to part with it. Inconſolable would be my affliction were I to conceive that any of my poſterity, after my demiſe, could forget, that Providence placed them at the head of the empire, only as guardians of the liberties of the people, whoſe proſperity it is the duty of kings to conſult, and whoſe happineſs they are bound by every conſideration to promote. The welfare of a people is in the hands of a prince. When he fails in promoting that welfare, he is unworthy of the charge intruſted by Heaven to his care.

Such, Nobles and Fellow-Citizens, ſuch are my ſentiments. I communicate them at the opening of the diet, with all that frankneſs which characteriſes the language of the heart. Diſcord, thank Heaven, is baniſhed from among us. It only requires our united efforts to extirpate the remaining ſeeds of diſſenſion. Our former conflicts ſhould ſerve as admonitions to poſterity, that revenge engenders only revenge. Civil diſſenſions, and the ſpirit of party, finally overthrow the moſt powerful kingdoms on earth. May the preſent diet, on the contrary, cement an indiſſoluble union between king and people! May the confidence you repoſe in me ſerve as a ſtimulative to deſerve your good opinion! May my deſcendents be ſenſible of the utility of gaining the hearts of the people! And may your poſterity learn from your examples, that political union and a mutual confidence among fellow-citizens, are the grand colonades which ſupport the temple of Liberty, and give vigour and efficacy to the laws.

The propoſitions which will now be ſubmitted to your inſpection, will ſerve as a final illuſtration of the ſincerity of my profeſſions. God give a bleſſing to our deliberations! reſt aſſured of my affectionate eſteem. Nor ſhall I ceaſe to give you every proof in my power, of the eſpecial tenderneſs which I feel for my people.

ENGLAND. [684.]

On Thurſday, Oct. 29. the Jew Prieſt of the Hambro' ſynagogue in Fenchurch ſtreet, London, was divorced from his Prieſteſs. The ceremony obſerved on this occaſion was very ſolemn: There were four Jew Rabbins; two attended each party. After the parties had ſtated their complaints and objections to each other, they aſked the Prieſteſs, if ſhe was willing to part from her huſband? ſhe replied, "Yes." The Prieſt then ſpit in her face, to ſhew his contempt for her; ſhe, in return, did the ſame: The Prieſt threw the bill of divorcement at the Prieſteſs; ſhe, with open arms and hands expanded, received it with ſuch avidity as convinced the whole aſſembly with what a ſatisfaction ſhe was willing to ſeparate from her huſband. That done, they again ſpit in each other's face, and exclaimed, "Curſed be they who ever wiſh to bring us two together again."

A numerous congregation aſſembled at the pariſh-church of Croſton, in the county of Lancaſter, on Sunday Nov. 1. to hear a recantation-ſermon preached by the Rev. John Stafford, who was many years a prieſt in the church of Rome. His diſcourſe gave general ſatisfaction. He renounced the errors of Popery, and was admitted into the church of England in the beginning of October.

In the beginning of October Mr Banks preſented to the Britiſh Muſeum a great number of South-ſea curioſities, which he collected, at a very great expence and trouble, on his voyage round the world in the Endeavour [33. 444. 699.].

"*Bath, Nov.* 3. Yeſterday, according to ſeptennial cuſtom, the tomb of Thomas Fletcher, who was luteniſt to Q. Eliſabeth, was opened in the Abbey church, and the bodies of him and his wife expoſed to ſuch as had tickets to enter the church, during the hours of one and two, gratis: (they only paid for coming out). The bones of Mrs Fletcher are all put in their proper place, and ſhe appears a complete ſkeleton, in the form ſhe laid out at the time of her death. The body of Thomas is incloſed in a paſte, not unlike that compoſition which ſurrounds the Egyptian mummies; and his bones would be quite inviſible, had not a little bit of the upper cruſt been broken in. It is ſaid, that he

gave directions in his will to be thus expoſed at certain ſtated times. There is no inſcription on the monument; but, if I miſtake not, there is an epitaph on this muſician in Muſic's Monument, by Mace, a Luteniſt of Cambridge, who, I believe, was living when Fletcher died."

"*Newcaſtle, Sept.* 5. It is ſuppoſed, that eight men employed in the black-lead mines near Kefwick, which are now opened, have dug ore to the value of 1000 l. a-day for fifteen days paſt. They are ſtill at work."

"*London, Sept.* 14. The Carron company has improved ſo much in the art of caſting cannon, that at a proof at Woolwich warren of upwards of one hundred and forty pieces, every gun was found to anſwer."

On Tueſday, Sept. 22. there were great rejoicings at Hull, on occaſion of opening the new dock there, which is the largeſt in Britain, being 616 yards and a half in length, and 85 yards in width.

SCOTLAND. [685.]

The high court of juſticiary appointed the Lords Juſtice-Clerk and Gardenſton to go the ſouthern circuit laſt autumn, the Lords Auchinleck and Kennet the weſtern, and the Lords Kames and Hailes the northern;—and the courts to ſit down, at Air, Oct. 2.; Dumfries, Oct. 9.; and Jedburgh, Oct. 16.; at Inverary, Oct. 2.; Glaſgow, Oct. 9.; and Stirling, Oct. 15.; and at Inverneſs, Sept. 17; Aberdeen, Sept. 25.; and Perth, Oct. 2.

The moſt material trials were theſe.

At Perth, the Lords Kames and Hailes judges, William Maiden weaver in Dundee, indicted for the murder of James Ferrier, ſervant to Mr Guthrie of Craigie, was fugitated.

At Dumfries, the Lord Juſtice Clerk judge, an indictment againſt William Mackinnel for the murder of Michael Anderſon, (both merchants in Dumfries), was called. The pannel was not in cuſtody, but anſwered on being called. The jury unanimouſly found the pannel not guilty, and he was diſmiſſed from the bar. The verdict was highly approved of by the court, and ſeemed to give general ſatisfaction.

At Stirling, Lord Kennet judge, Margaret Balloch, from Kilſyth, was tried for childmurder. The jury, by a plurality of voices, found the libel not proven; and ſhe was diſmiſſed from the bar.

Pardons to the following perſons were produced at the foregoing circuit-courts, and the criminals were liberated, viz. Anne Wilſon and Betty Young, who were ſentenced, at Stirling, in October 1776, to be tranſported for theft; and three women under ſentence for childmurder, viz. Marion White, ſentenced, at Stirling, in September 1777, to be hanged, Katharine Watſon, ſentenced at Perth in May 1777, and Janet Hiſlop, ſentenced at Glaſgow in October 1777, to be tranſported.——White was, by miſinformation, formerly ſaid to have been executed.

The Earl of Seaforth's highland regiment, who had been for ſome time quartered in the caſtle of Edinburgh, and in the ſuburbs, having been ordered, as was ſaid, for Guernſey, they were to have imbarked on board tranſports in Leith road on Tueſday, Sept. 22. But a difference had ſubſiſted ſome time between the officers and the men, the latter alledging, that they had not been paid their bounty-money, nor the arrears of their pay, and that they had been otherwiſe ill uſed. On Leith links, when ordered to march to the ſhore, a ſcene of confuſion and diſobedience took place. The officers endeavoured to ſoothe the men, by promiſes of anſwering every juſt demand. About 500 were prevailed upon to go on board; but about an equal number were deaf to all intreaties; and being reſolute, and poſſeſſed of powder and ball, compulſion would have been ineffectual, and fraught with fatal conſequences. The mutineers retired to Arthur's-Seat, a high hill adjoining to the royal palace. Here they were plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, by the people of Edinburgh, many of whom, eſpecially of the lower claſs, favoured them; and they were viſited by perſons of all ranks, freely and eaſily. Mean time troops were ordered in to town. On Wedneſday arrived a large party of the 11th regiment of dragoons, 200 of Buccleugh's fencibles, and 400 of the Glaſgow volunteers; and on Thurſday, Friday, and Saturday, more troops arrived. On Wedneſday and Thurſday ſeveral meſſages paſſed between Gen. Skene (ſecond in command in Scotland) and the mutineers. They were viſited by the General, the Earl of Dunmore, Lord Macdonald, and other noblemen and gentlemen, with a view to

reclaim

reclaim them. On Thurſday a report was ſpread, that the highlanders threatened to march through the city, and that the troops would oppoſe them. Proclamation was thereupon made by order of the magiſtrates by tuck of drum; and at noon a printed paper was paſted in all the public places, viz. "*Thurſday, Sept.* 24. 1778. All the inhabitants are to retire to their houſes on the firſt toll of the fire-bell."—All, however, continued perfectly quiet: nor would the highlanders have done the leaſt hurt to the inhabitants, by whom they had been liberally ſupplied with proviſions; of which they had a juſt ſenſe. —— A compromiſe was however happily effected on Friday morning; the terms of which were ſaid to be, 1. A pardon for paſt offences; 2. All levy-money and arrears due to be paid before imbarkation; 3. That they ſhould not be ſent to the Eaſt Indies. A groundleſs report had been ſpread, that they were ſold to the Eaſt-India company. For implementing the terms agreed on, a bond was granted, ſigned by the Duke of Buccleugh, the Earl of Dunmore, Sir Adolphus Oughton, K. B. commander in chief, and Gen. Skene, ſecond in command, in Scotland.—About eleven o'clock on Friday the men marched down from the hill, headed by the Earl of Dunmore, to St Anne's yards, where they were met by Gen. Skene, whom they ſaluted with three cheers. They then formed a hollow ſquare, and had the articles read to them. After which Gen. Skene addreſſed them in a ſhort ſpeech, exhorting them to behave well; and informed them, that a court of inquiry would be held upon their officers next morning, compoſed of officers belonging to other regiments, which every man that thought himſelf aggrieved might attend, and juſtice would be done him. The men were then billeted in quarters till the imbarkation ſhould take place.

In the evening of the day on which the compromiſe took place, a letter appeared in the Edinburgh Advertiſer, dated, *Lawſon's Coffeehouſe, Leith, Sept.* 25. and ſigned, *The Officers of the 78th Regiment*, viz. "As we conceive the terms granted this day to the mutineers of the 78th regiment to be totally inconſiſtent with the future diſcipline of the regiment, and highly injurious to our characters as officers, we think ourſelves bound to take this firſt opportunity of publicly declaring, that it was tranſacted without our advice, and againſt our opinion. We underſtand Lord Dunmore was the principal agent on this occaſion; we therefore think it neceſſary alſo to declare, that he was never deſired to interfere by any officer in the regiment, and, we believe, acted without any authority whatever."

In the Edinburgh papers of Monday, Sept. 28. appeared an *Authentic copy of the Report made to Sir James Adolphus Oughton, commanding his Majeſty's forces in North Britain, by the Court of Enquiry, held at the Canongate council-houſe, 26th September* 1778, viz.

"Col. Scott, Preſes.

Lt-Col. Dundas,
Major Lyon,
Major Stewart,
Major Whyte,
} Members.

The Court having heard a number of witneſſes, and alſo the evidence of ſeveral others, which being of ſimilar nature, they were not ſworn, as they had no particular cauſe of complaint againſt their reſpective officers; the Court are unanimouſly of opinion, That there is not the ſmalleſt degree of foundation for complaints againſt any officer in the regiment, in regard to their pay and arrears: And it further appears, that the cauſe of the retiring to Arthur's Hill, was from an idle and ill founded report, that the regiment was ſold to the Eaſt-India company, and that the officers were to leave them upon their being imbarked on board the tranſports.

(Signed) GEO. SCOTT, Col. 83d reg.
(Approved) JA. ADOL. OUGHTON."

And in Ruddiman's Weekly Mercury appeared what follows. "A paragragh having firſt appeared in an Edinburgh news-paper, and which has ſince been copied in the London papers, informing the public, "That on the day of the tumult at Leith previous to the firſt intended imbarkation of the corps under my command, I had, upon my knees, begged my life from the enraged ſoldiers," I beg you will publiſh this to let the world know it is an infamous falſehood; nor would the certainty of immediate death have procured from me ſo humiliating a conceſſion. At ſame time I muſt add, I never had any apprehenſion for my perſonal ſafety during the whole time the mutiny laſted. SEAFORTH. —— *Leith, Oct.* 4. 1778."

On Tueſday morning, Sept. 29. the remainder of the corps, with the Earl of

Seaforth and Gen. Skene on their head, marched from the Abbey cloſe to Leith, and went on board the tranſports with the greateſt cordiality and chearfulneſs.

Gen. Skene's prudence and good conduct in this troubleſome buſineſs, has, it is ſaid, been highly approved of above. No bloodſhed, notwithſtanding a very threatening appearance.

On information, that our enemies intended to diſtreſs the weſt coaſt, a train of artillery, five nine-pounders and two ſix-pounders, was ſent from Edinburgh caſtle for Greenock, Sept. 5. and 200 ſmall arms, with the like number of cartouch-boxes, &c. to arm the inhabitants of that town, who voluntarily offered their ſervice. At the ſame time ſeveral bodies of troops marched to the ſame place.

Before the middle of October, nine privateers fitted out on the Clyde had ſailed, and five more were almoſt ready to ſail, carrying in whole upwards of 200 guns and 800 men.

Sum of the quantity and value of Linen ſtamped for ſale in Scotland. [39. 720.]

From Nov. 1. 1777, *to Nov.* 1. 1778.

Quantity 13,264,410 3 4ths yards.
Value L. 592,023 : 5 : 4 : 1 half
Medium Price 10, 3 4th d.

Leſs this year than the preceeding:
Quantity 1,529,477 3 4ths yards.
Value L. 118,610 : 13 : 2 : 3 4ths.

The number of patients in the Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh, in 1778. [39. 720.]

In the hoſpital, Jan. 1. 1778	130	2066
Admitted that year - -	1936	
Particulars of the above ſum.		
Ordinary patients - -	1082	2066
Supernumeraries - -	148	
Servants - - -	200	
Soldiers - - -	636	
Of whom,		
Cured in the year 1778 -	1582	1890
Relieved, though not fully cured	122	
Diſmiſſed by deſire, or as improper	86	
Diſmiſſed for irregularities -	8	
Diſmiſſed as incurable - -	5	
Died - - - - -	87	
In the hoſpital, Jan. 1. 1779.		176
Ordinary patients - -	92	
Supernumeraries - -	29	
Servants - - -	27	
Soldiers - -	28	

A great number of perſons not included above, receive advice and medicines as out-patients, for which daily attendance is given.

A general ſtate of the event of the caſes of patients treated at the Diſpenſary at Edinburgh, [39. 720.].

From Nov. 1. 1776, *to Nov.* 1. 1777, *the firſt year of the eſtabliſhment.*

Cured - - -	79	222
Relieved - - -	57	
No better - -	39	
Dead - - -	5	
Remaining under treatment -	42	

From Nov. 1. 1777, *to Nov.* 1. 1778.

Cured - - -	221	511
Relieved - - -	110	
No better - -	137	
Dead - - -	3	
Remaining under treatment -	40	

N. B. Among the patients diſmiſſed from the diſpenſary *no better*, are included, not only thoſe who were conſidered by the phyſicians to be incurable, or who were diſmiſſed at their own deſire, but likewiſe all thoſe to whom it was recommended to reſide for ſome time at a diſtance from Edinburgh, or to apply for admiſſion into the Royal Infirmary, as changes which had taken place in their diſeaſes ſeemed to render confinement neceſſary for their recovery.

A general view of the effects of the Diſpenſary is publiſhed annually, in which is inſerted a liſt of the names of the patients, the dates of admiſſion and of the termination of treatment, and the event of the treatment.

The number of patients in the Aberdeen Infirmary in 1778. [39. 720.]

In the hoſpital Jan. 1. 1778	90	1062
Admitted that year -	972	
Of whom,		
Perfectly cured - -	738	988
Recovered, ſo as to follow their ordinary buſineſs - -	115	
Improper, diſmiſſed at their own deſire, or deſerted -	73	
Incurable, after a long trial -	18	
Died - - -	44	
Remaining in the hoſpital Jan. 1. 1779.		74

Beſides the above number received into the hoſpital, 828 have had the benefit of advice and medicines as out-patients.

OMISSIONS.

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MARRIAGE. — *Sept.* 22. At Edinburgh, Robert Colt, Eſq; Advocate, to Miſs Griſel Dundas, daughter of Robert Dundas, Eſq; Lord Preſident of the court of Seſſion.

DEATH. — *Dec.* 25. At Newlands, near Glaſgow, James Gray, Eſq; of Dalmarnock.

The

The LONDON General Bill of Chriſtenings and Burials, from December 16. 1777, to December 15. 1778; with the diſeaſes and caſualties, &c. [39. 721.]

Chriſtened			Buried			Decreaſed in the burials this year 2945.
Males	8793	17300	Males	10235	20399	
Females	8507		Females	10164		

Between

Age.	No.	Age.	No.	Age.	No.	Age.	No.	Age.	No.
Under 2	7355	20 and 30	1381	60 and 70	1416	100	1	105	0
2 and 5	1994	30 and 40	1743	70 and 80	995	101	1	107	1
5 and 10	789	40 and 50	1965	80 and 90	398	102	0		
10 and 20	702	50 and 60	1616	90 and 100	42	104	0		

Diſeaſes.						*Caſualties.*	
Abort. and Stillb.	550	Evil	21	Meaſles	388	Broken limbs	8
Aged	1241	Fever, ditto malignant, ſcarlet, ſpotted, and purples	2647	Miſcarriage	1	Bruiſed	1
Ague	5	Fiſtula	4	Mortification	197	Burnt	10
Apoplexy and Sud.	231	Flux	14	Palſy	71	Drowned	132
Aſthma and Tiſſick	256	French Pox	72	Pleuriſy	14	Exceſſive Drinking	2
Bedridden	10	Gout	53	Quinſy	4	Executed	20
Bleeding	8	Gravel, Stone, and Strangury	56	Rath	4	Found Dead	6
Bloody Flux	1	Grief	2	Rheumatiſm	5	Killed by Falls, and ſeveral other Accidents	69
Burſten and Rupture	12	Headach	1	Rickets	2	Killed themſelves	45
Cancer	109	Headmouldſh. Horſhoehead, and Water in the Head	17	Riſing of the lights	1	Murdered	5
Canker	5	Jaundice	117	Scald-head	1	Overlaid	2
Childbed	175	Impoſthume	3	Scurvy	7	Scalded	2
Cholic, Gripes, Twiſting of the Guts	43	Inflammation	129	Small Pox	1425	Starved	2
Cold	2	Itch	1	Sore Throat	26	Smothered	1
Conſumption	4426	Leproſy	1	Sores and Ulcers	17	Suffocated	7
Convulſions	5432	Lethargy	6	Stoppage in Stom.	1		
Cough, and Hooping-Cough	379	Livergrown	1	Surfeit	1		
Diabetes	2	Lunatic	51	Teeth	765		
Dropſy	978			Thruſh	77		
				Tympany	1		
				Vomit. and Looſneſs	6		
				Worms	6		

General Bill of Mortality for 1778, in EDINBURGH.

	Buried in the city. Males.	Femal.	Total.
January	36	34	70
February	34	40	74
March	30	32	62
April	21	32	53
May	28	36	64
June	16	28	44
July	21	29	50
Auguſt	18	25	43
September	19	27	46
October	33	37	70
November	27	45	72
December	24	48	72
Total	307	413	720

Age.	No
Under 2 years	212
Between 2 & 5	90
Between 5 & 10	50
Between 10 & 20	45
Between 20 & 30	36
Between 30 & 40	40
Between 40 & 50	53
Between 50 & 60	59
Between 60 & 70	61
Between 70 & 80	46
Between 80 & 90	23
Between 90 & 100	4
Between 100 & 101	1
Increaſed 46.	

Beſides theſe, many perſons who die in the city are buried in the burying-ground of Canongate, Weſt-kirk, Chapel of Eaſe of that pariſh, Calton, and in Lady Yeſter's church-yard.

Diſeaſes, &c.

Aged	85	Childbed	11	Dropſy	2	Iliac paſſion	1
Aſthma	10	Chincough	8	Dropt down on the ſtreet	1	Inflammation	2
Bowelhive	12	Conſumption	195	Fever	139	Meaſles	33
By a fall	1	Cramp	1	Gout in the ſtomach	1	Mortification	1
By a fall from a chimny-top	1	Cramp in the ſtomach	2	Gravel	2	Palſy	2
Cancer	4					Rupture	1
						Scalded	1
						Small pox	100
						Stillborn	36
						Suddenly	7
						Swelling	1
						Teething	59
						Water in head	1

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